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[For further information on the Tui Tonga, see Category 643.]

THE KINGSHIP

Tui Vakano, the late premier of Tonga, briefly characterized for me the 643
three great lines of chiefs of Tonga as follows: 793

> The Tui Tonga were the spiritual rulers of the country and did not interest themselves with the ordinary government of the country. Their persons were sacred to such an extent that they were almost worshipped as gods. Only a special few and foreigners were allowed to associate with them.
>
> The Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu were from the same origin [as 643
> the Tui Tonga]. When the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua disappeared the Tui Kanokupolu became the rulers of the people and looked after the country.

Tui Vakano uses the term "spiritual" in much the same sense as many 643
Caucasians who have written on Tonga. I do not think the term is justified. 793
That the Tui Tonga was the most exalted of the male chiefs of the country there can be no doubt; that he was a spiritual ruler in the same sense as the Pope or the Dalai Lama is untrue.

Williamson (64, vol. 1, chapt. 4) discusses at length the published evi- 643
dence concerning the origin and extent of the authority exercised by the three lines of rulers: Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu. That the Tui Tonga was the highest in rank cannot be doubted. That he lost in power and influence as the other lines gained is obvious from the traditional history of Tonga, as well as from the observations of voyagers.

It is not my aim to review the published materials, but rather to present what little new data I have gathered, and to clarify, with the aid of genealogies, some of the disputed points as to succession and interrelations between the three houses.

My view of the interrelations of the three ruling lines is briefly as fol- 643
lows. The Tui Tonga exercised full sovereignty until the Fifteenth Century 175
when Kauulufonua I, following the assassination of at least three kings, introduced the innovation of a subsidiary ruler, the Tui Haa Takalaua, who was to act as a buffer between the Tui Tonga and the people and to whom were delegated the more arduous duties of the kingship. Already when this innovation was made, Tongan power in western Polynesia was waning. That the Tui Haa Takalaua was expected to function principally in Tongatabu seems likely, for at the same time were appointed governors for the other parts of the kingdom who would seem to have been directly responsible to the Tui Tonga, not to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early part of the Seventeenth Century the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga appointed one of his sons to the position of Tui Kanokupolu, presumably creating the position for him, just as the Tui Tonga had earlier created the position of Tui Haa Takalaua. The new line of chieftains proved a powerful one which gradually eclipsed the Tui Haa Takalaua and ultimately, in 1865, the Tui Tonga. The Tui Tonga genealogies show clearly the decline of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu.

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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her 643
foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of 644
any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the 604
kaingaofi with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-*
fonua suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed 593 75
to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too 565
low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the
abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga 75
washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems 643
doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the 776
Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but 769
only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea 793
of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were repre- 643
sented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically men- 622
tioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa 776
or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai
Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows 634
(op. cit., pp. 276, 277): 776

> **Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.**

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration 643
for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* 585
ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity 764
of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) pe- 765
culiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went 304
to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of 195
speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui 643
Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling 793
house of the Catholic priests For what god she officiated, I could not learn.
She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated [776]
with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any 643
other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness 776
of Fuanunuiava. 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned 643
was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word 782
inasi, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, [527]
and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed. [776]

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to [769]
Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony 643
(or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and 796
at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga 527
presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were 643
six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds 796
dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to 526
forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, 527
Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

cide to make the *pongipongi*, the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the 622
other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not neces- 643
sary for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court 651
when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death
of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi*, though not
the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata
Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu 622
before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be 643
blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all 651
of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, 689
when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over [292]
his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut [301]
leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture [516]
thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers
resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that (516)
the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's
matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the
offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make
intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests 622
the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food 643
are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In 651
addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the
presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed
to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi*, are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families pre-
sent *kie* mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie*. It is held on [764]
occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might [585]
refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family [574]
of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents [431]
to a chief is called *tukufatongia*.

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kano- 431
kupolu, I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of 793
Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying
at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka
Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

their shoulders. The procession moved slowly forward to the house where 431
Mr. Watkin was sojourning. On entering the premises the people shouted 793
and drums were beaten. On October 5, other processions brought gifts of
food. These were accompanied by a playing band and intermittent church
meetings were held. On the day of his arrival, Mr. Watkin was paid a 793
signal honor such as was anciently paid to the Tui Tonga or the Tamaha. 576
When he neared the landing place ten black-frocked ministers of the Free
Church waded into the water, picked up the row boat, and carried it bodily
ashore with him in it.

SOCIAL CLASSES

Although there is much gradation in rank, the Tongans recognize three 565
general classes of people—chiefs (*houeiki*), chiefs' attendants (matapule),
and commoners (*tua*). Commoners are sometimes called also *kainanga oe*
fonua (eaters of the land; *kainanga*, one who eats the leavings of others),
lauvale (an opprobrious term), or *matatangata* (good-looking—a more or
less complimentary term). To symbolize weakness and strength, the term
polata (banana stalk) is applied to commoners, and *fau* (*Hibiscus*), to chiefs.
An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people
is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana), applied to the
people of Haano and Uiha islands, Haapai, who are under the chiefs Tui
Haa Ngana and Malupo.

The attitude of the lower classes towards their chiefs is one of respect 622
and obedience. Undoubtedly the chiefs and the matapule are far better informed 565
than are the commoners. A man and wife on Nomuka Island who
gave me a considerable amount of information advanced their opinions with
some diffidence and apologetically said, "We do not know everything, because
we are only matapule people. You should go to the chiefs."

In relation to the Queen and to the Queen's viceroys (the governors of 643
the Haapai and Vavau groups) all subjects are relatively speaking commoners. 565
I had this forcibly visualized for me at several assemblages (*fono*) 634
when the Governor of Haapai was present. Because he took the place of
the Queen, high chief and commoner alike appeared before him wearing
ragged mats as emblems of respect and humility.

In a generic sense, the term *tua* is applicable to any person, even a chief 565
or matapule, who is not "clever in Tongan ways," who does not act according 196
to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish. This [576]
term also may be used by the head of a family in reference to its members, [593]
but may not be used about people of low rank in another family. It is employed
also when one is angry, as, for example, *oua angafakatua* (do not
act like a commoner).

TABLE 9. TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

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TRANSMISSION	TOTALS	TONGA TUI HAA	MALE TUI TAKALAUA	TUI KANOKUPOLU	CHIEFS	MATAPULES, NAV'GTRS, PRIESTS, ARTISANS
To son	142	32	11	7	71	21
To brother	26	3		3	11	9
To brother's son	9			3	3	3
To father's brother's son	5				3	2
To daughter's son	5				3	2
To son's son	5				3	2
To father's brother	3			2	1	
To brother's son's son	2			1	1	
To father's father's brother's son	1			1		
To father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To father's father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To sister's son	1					1
To son's daughter's son	1			1		
To daughter	1			1		

BARDS

Bards, ordinarily ranking about on a level with matapules, have always 538
occupied an honorable position in Tongan society, being regarded as the in- 554
tellectual equals of the most brilliant minds. The poet Tuakilaumea was the son of matapule Motuapuaka. The poets Ulamoleka and Teukava were chiefs. In 1921 the chief Vaea was writing poetry.

The poems themselves reflect the social position and cleverness of their 538
authors. The introduction (p. 88) to the "Poem of Mumui" (16, p. 98) indicates that the poet was liable to punishment for relatively small offenses.
Because Tuakilaumea had appropriated a gift of kava intended for Mumui, 685
the Tui Kanokupolu, the poet's house was destroyed. Tuakilaumea, taking 538
refuge in a sanctuary (Faletapu), composed a lay about Mumui. He then 643 687
attached himself to the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea at Mua, where [778]
with a company of chanters he presented the lay. Mumui, learning of the clever poem, invited Tuakilaumea to Nukualofa to present it before him, thus evidencing his forgiveness of the kava appropriation.

Another poem (16, p. 71) indicates that for some small offense Ulukalala 538
proceeded to set Mamaeaepoto on shore, much to the poet's chagrin. It is also recorded that the chief Ulamoleka ordered a poet to accompany him from Tongatabu to Eua, even though the poet's father was on his death bed.

Though the profession of bard seems to have been an honored one, the [554]
poets were very definitely dependent upon the patronage of the great chiefs. [622]
Here and there in the poems this protection is mentioned, usually meta- [571]
phorically, by saying the poet is aboard a great vessel.

the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) pre- 276
vailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god 574
became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest [428]
presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were [643]
broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs at- [624]
tendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, [745]
p. 67). [622]
[681]

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social
aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seat- 276
ing and through the order of serving. 574
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With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle 565
without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, [622]
or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two mata- [624]
pule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president [643]
of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. [644]
With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who [562]
were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at [585]
marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representa- 276
tives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of 574
the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui 769
Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original 776
554
holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, how- [793]
ever, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example, Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from
heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is [622]
accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him. [624]
[576]

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:
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Alofi. The kava circle.

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals. [516]

Only
the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found 764
outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafcao* or attendants of the [784]
great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nana- [767]
sipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufili-
tonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place 764
during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied 349
upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the in- 643
terest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and 622
Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26,
pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from
Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He
had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tu-
mulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest 764
Makaui had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-com- 349
partment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive 793
enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the 764
people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain 565
cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while
others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christi- [177]
anity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and [593]
wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception
of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an 143
albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living
at Muitoa, Haano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai,
was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from in- 826
formants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. How- [266]
ever, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos
concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general
ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker 838
defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island,
vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there
were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to 302
stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept 814
by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly 793
woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young 565
chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies 887
by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the re- 212
positories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and
thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much [171]
interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root,
origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi 643
on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile* 602
fihi)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of 551
a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker 124
and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As
a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The 552
Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. [231]
The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named [773]
Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the 552
property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila 643
is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231

[Ata Island]

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship [793]
of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

> Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [276]
> 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was
> given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to
> Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from [669]
> Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
> laid siege to it with his Methodist army.
>
> When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong [539]
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*,
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself [164]
buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

The following anecdote is told:

> Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
> The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
> fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
> feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
> took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
> nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

> Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
> called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
> medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
> to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [484]
> People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
> other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
> Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
> one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
> noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named Malimeihevao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following anecdote concerns him:

> A god named Malimeihevao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the 776
> island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and 773
> visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the 787
> mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation 828
> the victim was irrational.
>
> Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunting with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihevao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational. Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly. The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last despaired of his becoming rational.
>
> Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses. Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.
>
> As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka- 776
> mopele and Malimeihevao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773
> and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793
> did with the exception of Malimeihevao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihevao in Uoleva, he 776
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in [793]
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent [349]

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776
Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349
Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you 776
are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali,* to smile or to marry; 196
meihe, from the; *vao,* bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes
of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses
as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko,* that of 776
Malimeihevao ~~was~~ was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825
Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium
he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the [787]
fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the [843]
house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and [763]
then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house.

TUI HAA FAKAFANUA

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776
identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan
informant also identified this god with Seketoa of Niuatoputapu. It seems
likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of
rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He [787]
manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko [825]
was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776
to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778
located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the
Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers
especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the
chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Maufanga,
was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth
century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very
old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai.
The priest seems to have borne the name of Makaui. If tradition is to be [793]
relied upon, there was already a Makaui officiating in the time of Kinikinilau.
It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name
Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's
devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary
of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance.
It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship Astrolabe
in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Christian. [797]

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua informant.

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come. 823
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Tau-
faahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the
temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau
was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault
in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not
the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 825
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple 784
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [501]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui
> stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has
> had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the
> thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some
> kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [772]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was [784]
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangai- 776
motu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly there- 784 [515]
after, or was never seen again. [833] [763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*).
One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the
designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term
hinehina refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have
been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau.
This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was
also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the
descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called
Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Tau- 776
faahau, later King George I. 643 755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was
poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief
Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [793]
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes [787]
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the
coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sick-
ness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Taufaahau. 643 [553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together
with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut [415]
shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when
he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement
of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed
slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's
father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 787
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825 773

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [524]
to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the
arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down
and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for
and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as
offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782
> (*kolo*a) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-
> mediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his
> pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When
> Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors.
He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to
the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living
person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the
fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to
drown himself and became a fish.

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776
His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore [821]
the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the [778]
temple itself was called Fale'oonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died [793]
about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa, and obtained from him the following information:

> Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776
> completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself.
> The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 793
> Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they [787]
> interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and [782]
> other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi [643]
> two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.
>
> It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776
Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793
drought: 782
821
[622]

> Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done. Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.
>
> When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776
Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

[Eua Island]

that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion 776 was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave [266] called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9, pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant [825] knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through [773] a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the 823 origin of geographic features (26. p. 88). Connected with this deity was a 776 great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from 173 their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which 823 it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red, and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelefevalu whose house stood on a mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776 the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773 tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823 daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelefevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,	Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelefevalu tu'u mei lalo.	Lefelefevalu stands below.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,	Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat rat,
Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,	Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the eel,
Kokafa e api kai tole.	Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

[539]

The names Lefelefevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Angangamofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

Deities of Lifuka Island

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with
cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in
this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no
one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. How- 776
ever, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appear-
ance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particu-
larly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary be-
tween the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following 776
account of the god Ngàohaa: [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman
named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary
lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple 776
by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to 793
accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of
Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god
was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.]

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The 776
people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the 793
priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would 821
direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. 484
If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather
would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but 793
if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess 776
and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then 793
be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must 787
await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess 755
tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The [782]
priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the
chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god.

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. 776
Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but 793
the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the 787
same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and
people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are
the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these
recent happenings."

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding [115]
Ngaohaa:

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god 776
in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy 778
place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the
place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing
club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with
turmeric on the outside.

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

> wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
> house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
> people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
> neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
> noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava,* like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman.
Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 776 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo*
> (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck
> billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or
> temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the car- 778
riage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
821

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa 821
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the peo- 776
ple that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At [793]
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo.*

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that [763]
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems incon-
ceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more
likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from
whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele
Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa.
Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and mani-
fested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moun-
gaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [784]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [171]
[787]
[793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest 776
shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present 787
Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the 793
two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people 782
prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little 755
finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but 776
could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living 821
in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind 505
quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was
set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that 776
Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, 266
a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. 784
262

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent
described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as 825
his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a 778
tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there 776
and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the 793
people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest 782
to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. 776
The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other 755
words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god 776
Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not wor- 784
shippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the 262
spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If 785
they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in an-
other direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god 825
was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests 776
of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn 793
the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the 787
god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered 763
by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of [illegible]
cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one 304
of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat"
of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely 782
consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

eat everything because his god was in him. To Havealai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called ***konga kava***. 782

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract [276]
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 776
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 793
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place 778
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove ***kulukulu*** (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the ***kulukulu***. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the ***kaleva*** (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [782]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [755]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [763]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [784]
side. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very [778]
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish [276]
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

which was presided over by a priestess named Hena, and the other was 776
established in the tract called Olotaane. The name of the priest was Hala- [793]
tapu.

DEITIES OF VAVAU

I have but little to add to Mariner's account of Vavau deities. Two [825]
prominent deities were the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa, who sometimes appeared as two beautiful women or again as two herons, Sisi being a white or piebald heron, Faingaa being a gray heron. Both the white and gray birds belong to a single species which is dichromatic in coloring. There is a story (26, p. 196) which relates to these goddesses in their human form.

At the village of Toula, Vavau, there stands to-day a large smooth boulder 776
on a grassy flat. There were formerly two of these boulders, but one has 823
been broken by the villagers to use for their ovens. The two stones were
said to represent Sisi and Faingaa, who often resided therein. A Toula [825]
informant said that when the goddesses left the boulders they assumed the form of herons, and in that guise they went on long flights, catching and eating human beings who came in their way.

The following list of gods of Vavau was supplied by Tapueluelu, the 776
mayor of Neiafu:

1. Talaiai Tupou, a male deity.
2. Tui Haa Fakafanua. The god became incarnate at times as a man who went about fighting the other gods. His priest in Vavau was named Faainu.
3. Haele Feke. The sacred animal of this god was the octopus.
4. Fehuluni. In Vavau, Fehuluni is considered as bisexual; appearing sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. This deity is said to have no sacred animal. There was, however, a priest to Fehuluni in Vavau. Aa Island was the god's residence (see p. 294).
5. Taufaitahi, a male deity who appeared in a certain shark.
6. Fakailoatonga, a male deity who might appear either in a shark or a kingfisher. His priest was Toki, for whom William Mariner was named. This deity was the god of my informant's father, Naufahu, the son of Finau Fisi. [Popua, a goddess of Tongatabu, was the patron deity of Tapueluelu's mother, who was Funakitoutai of Nukualofa. Funakitoutai's parents were from the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. Apparently the worship of Popua was never introduced to Vavau.]

Tapueluelu did not know of the god Aloalo. He said that Tui Tofua was strictly a Haapai god and Pulotu Katoa a Tongatabu god.

Of gods of other islands of the Vavau group but little was learned. A
goddess named Latutama presided over the island of Okoa and was said
to be worshipped there only. Her sacred animal was the shark. She was [825]
served by a priest who occupied a house in the tract called Kaukiola. The [793]
volcanic island of Late, to the west of Vavau, had as a god Tau[moefolau].
The informant was certain only of the first syllable of this name.

As to the particular deities which the various Vavau chiefs worshipped, [565]

Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may 776
well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of 825
deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his
family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have
secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from
quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that 776
elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the mur- 825
der of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the 753
plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took 164
part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine
in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were
all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were
rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add 776
that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to 825
believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such
as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to
dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, 776
called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His
voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was
named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was [793]
the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where
Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If [784]
anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first [262]
mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When [787]
the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink.
The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god
liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish [226]
(*kaloama*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. 776
Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest 793
then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the 787
priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god [252]

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, 793
but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered 776
Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; 776
that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered
by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference
between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time
and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. [793]
Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick 782
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. 793
The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as 793
they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the 787
ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the 171
shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired 793
by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from 787
Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes 775
even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the
spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present
time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo*. The term *ulusino* refers to
possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed
by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the
gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of 793
human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, 787
rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those 775
mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no 643
special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular [565]
priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather
individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased.
Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least super- 793
ficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their 787
own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick 756
and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were [171]
besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through [782]
the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the
course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and 793
it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are [428]
known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki, taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama,* [462]
faahikehe, and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the
people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer
(23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat 793
in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, 776
that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually 171
enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain
information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be 787
caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making 753
him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are 755
employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of 757
the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting 776
the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo"
(The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort 273
caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation. 787

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes 793
a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits 885
manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through 857
children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a
priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood 428
passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some 787
other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga
of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of 643
Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some
other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed
by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests
of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to
have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested 797
by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui 643
Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, 793
son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in
spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the
high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did
appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu
Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied 793
only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data 124
to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama*
refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for
priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term
and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of
Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had 778
in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. 793
Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. 613
One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance
of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated
virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at 688

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua,* the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested
by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped 776
by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, 613
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. However, 753
other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the 753
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through 764
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565 592
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity.
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and 825
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Methodist 784
minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, 262
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793 787
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Mohekifiehua.
The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared
to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence
of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolovai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat
is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu*, a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they
are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga)
were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua)
by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775
as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825
was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565
about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded
and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This
appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The
souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775
through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare,
though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that
he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates
that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another [825]
woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally,
only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals.
The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as
indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774
and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally 775
"different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776
human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196
gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a
mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One
informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The [793]
word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by [787]
the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well
as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treatment 775
is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the 753
infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787
the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755
infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or 774
theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people 685
assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the perpetrator's 682
soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared 793
at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was
captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa.
Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime.
The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they
brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest
to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the belief 761
that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The 782
father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one 754
who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although
the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is
said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu.
. . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall
die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a
curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1,
p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and 774
animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted [171]
Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in certain [538]
animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational
abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals [776]
as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no
manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola,* or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

> You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kuma papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anec- 784
dote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the 784
aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed 842
with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a 784
reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree 793
under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, [261]
> and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow 784
on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will 565
become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is [753]
a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably 784
lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher [565]
in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. 784
It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 604

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after [553]
> the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused
> by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt [755]
> could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the 784
> penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. 827
> 302

727
purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the 787
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre- [262]
pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circum-
stance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma- [292]
tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair [276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves *; if at a distance, he seats him-
self on any convenient spot of ground, and the
matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, [342]
open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
of the ground.

793
787 there were not a considerable vacant space left
276 opposite the priest. In this space, at the bot-
[292] tom of the circle, sits the man who prepares the
cava, the root being previously chewed by the
787 cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind
209 him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscri-
565 minately among the people. The chiefs take
[276] this retired and humble station on account of
the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that
such modest demeanour must be acceptable to
the gods.

787 As soon as they are all seated, the priest is
considered as inspired, the god being supposed
793 to exist within him from that moment. He re-
mains for a considerable time in silence, with
his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast
[565] down, and he rests perfectly still. During the
time that the victuals are being shared out, and
the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes
begin to consult him; sometimes he answers
them, at other times not; in either case he re-
mains with his eyes cast down. Frequently he
793 will not utter a word till the repast is finished,
787 and the cava too. When he speaks, he ge-
154 nerally begins in a low and very altered tone of
[195] voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural
pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All
that he says is supposed to be the declaration of
the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

person as if he were the god. All this is done 787 generally without any apparent inward emotion 154 or outward agitation; but on some occasions 793 his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes [261] on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men, under other circumstances, could devour. The fit being now gone off, he 787 remains for some time calm, and then takes up 793 a club that is placed by him for the purpose, turns it over and regards it attentively; he then looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the left, and now again at the club; afterwards he looks up again, and about him in like manner, and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and so on, for several times: at length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the house, with considerable force: immediately the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires to the back of the ring among the people. If 787 the company now wish for any more cava, Fi- 634 554 276

787 now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits
634 at the head of the ring.

554 It might be supposed that this violent agita-
276 tion on the part of the priest is merely an assumed appearance for the purpose of popular deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at
787 all to think so. There can be little doubt, how-
154 ever, but that the priest, on such occasions,
793 often summons into action the deepest feelings of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion. But there is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well as modern, afford numerous instances of this nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized, display ample testimony that false religions, and false notions of religion, act upon some minds with such extraordinary impulses, that they are mistaken for divine inspirations.

787 It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons,
who are not priests, are often visited by the
154 gods, particularly females, but who are never
784 affected in the manner above described: they are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and, as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

781 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered
from this, still finding himself very ill, he
154 was taken to the house of a priest *, who told
755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning
763 her name, who had died two years before, and
was now in Bolotoo †, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

Now we are upon this subject it may not be
781 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this
154 period of our history was at the Navigator's
islands, used to be inspired by the spirit ‡ of

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[793] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] [565] [776] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second rank in Bolotoo.

701 he goes to battle, or expects the coming of an
157 enemy, to give himself the name of some one
411 particular person, whom he means to single out
553 and fight. This warrior, however, instead of
assuming the name of one of the enemy,
proudly called himself Fanna Fonnooa (a great
gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to
a cannon and throw his spear into the mouth
of it.

669 When Finow was informed of these proceedings of the Vavaoo people, he immediately re-
723 solved to make a descent upon them with a
793 powerful force, and reduce them into subjection
634 before they could have completed their designs: but the priests dissuaded him from this hasty project, and proposed, that it would be much more acceptable to the gods to make, in the first place, an offer of reconciliation. The king, however, had not much respect for the priests, and though he sometimes conformed with their advice, it was generally because it tallied with his own opinion, or he did it for the mere outside shew of veneration for the gods: his want of religion was, indeed, almost proverbial, and, on this account, the people often wondered that he was so successful in
669 war. In this particular instance he was so ex-
634 asperated at the conduct of his aunt, that not
the persuasion of the priests, nor the admoni-

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of urging any thing against him, and he so- 669
lemnly declaring his innocence, and stating
that his son must have invented this tale to 687
answer some purpose with the enemy; more- 634
over, having always borne a good character and been well beloved by his men, and believed to have been always firmly attached to the interests of Finow, he was set at liberty and restored to his post.

The day after this chief was reinstated, Fi- 669
now ordered the ceremony of drinking cava to 727
the priest of his tutelar god Toobó Totai, by 276
way of gratitude for the late victory. This ce- 787
remony is exactly the same as that of invoking 793
a god through the medium of his priest; and consists merely in the customary form of sitting down to make cava in the presence of a priest, (he presiding at the head of the ring). In this instance, after the cava, pork, &c. had been served out, one of the matabooles, in a few words, thanked the god in the person of the priest for the late signal victories. The priest in answer, after waiting for another dish of cava, declared that Finow would at length succeed in his war against Felletoa, but that this fortress was not the strongest power he had to contend with, for the seeds of insurrection were already sown in his own army, and although Lioofau was perfectly innocent of what had been al-

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no
727 great distance from him for whom so much
276 could not be said. The god having condescended
787 to declare this, left his priest, and the
latter arose and went away; the company then
793 broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice
of what the priest declared, not wishing the
circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow
669 brought him secret intelligence that he had
634 heard that several men had been sent off at different
565 times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress
687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the
558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the intention
of doing what Lioofau had been unjustly
[292] accused of and imprisoned for. The king
[301] immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed
the summons, and came drest up in mats, with
[576] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humiliation
[793] and fear) attended by a priest. When
669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat
634 down before it; then the priest rose and advancing
565 nearer to Finow, who was seated just
687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat
558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano
793 had requested his intermediation, to express for
him the sentiments of self-accusation with
which he felt himself oppressed, and his acknowledgment
of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

now should think proper to take away his life. 669
The king replied, that he did not mean to take 634
away his life, for that it was not the custom at 565
Tonga to kill those of whom one has no reason 687
to be afraid, and that he did not think it worth 558
his while to destroy a mere butterfly, (an insig- [793]
nificant being) but that he should take other measures of punishment not less exemplary. He then desired the culprit to consider himself for the future as divested of all power and rank, no longer to be the commander of men, but a single and unprotected individual; that his chiefship from that moment was null, and that consequently he was never more to take his seat as a chief, at his cava ceremonies*. A certain chief, who was present, observed to Finow that if he suffered this man to live, although he was deprived of power, he might nevertheless by pernicious counsel inspire other chiefs with sentiments derogatory to the welfare of Finow's government. To which the king replied, that this was not a war between men, in whose success or ill success the gods took no interest, but one in which his tutelar god, Tooboo Totai, presided in a particular manner

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* One who is born a chief is always a chief, and all who [576]
associate with him must, as a point of religious duty, shew him the customary forms of respect; but in consequence of this sentence, nobody would associate with Mappa Haano.

Mariner having seated himself near Finow, the 669
latter asked him why they did not kill them 727
at once, without cutting off their heads: this 634
question he asked partly from motives of humanity, and partly to know why they took so much trouble about them.

A few days after this event, Tooboo Boogoo, 669
a certain priest, belonging to the *colo* of Felle- 723
toa, and who was a relation of Finow, having 793
been consulted, regarding some matters of policy, gave advice which appeared to the Vavaoo chiefs more consonant to Finow's interests than their own, and they accordingly objected to it, declaring that he wanted to act a treacherous part in thus befriending his relation: upon which he told them that if they could place no credit in his word, nor confidence in his honesty, he was of no use to them, and therefore they had better kill him at once, or at least confine him;—or if they had a mind to behave generously towards him, permit him to go away and live with Finow: the chiefs replied that they should take a little time to consider of it. He did not think proper, however, to wait for their decision, but made his escape early one morning, and took refuge with Finow, whom he informed of a design the enemy had of besieging him. In consequence of this information every preparation was made to put the fortress in the best possible state of defence.

He was, however, by no means deficient in 669
policy, and he soon thought of a method. From 634
time to time he held secret conferences with 728
the priests, chiefly either upon religious subjects
or upon political matters, as connected 669
with the will of the gods. He spoke of his de- 634
termination to remain at Vavaoo and prosecute 728
the war till his enemies were destroyed; then
on a sudden, as if his heart for the moment 793
relented, he painted in the most striking colours the evils of war, and how sorry he was that the necessity of the case obliged him to punish his rebellious subjects with so dire an evil. He then represented, in the most lively colours, the blessings of peace, and on this side of the prospect touched his hearers so with the beauty of the description that they entreated him to endeavour to make a peace. He then pretended to be inexorable, but always threw in something in favour of the Vavaoo people, so that the priests at length thought there was no question at all about the propriety and honour of making a peace, and that it was their duty to persuade him to do it, for when they were inspired they had the same sentiment, and of course they considered it to be the sentiment of the gods, and represented it to him as such; when he, pretending to submit only because it was the divine will, left the matter entirely to

669 them to negotiate, and if they succeeded, it
634 would afford him, he said, at least one great
728 gratification, viz. the opportunity of again renewing
his friendship with his aunt Toe Oomoo,
793 and paying her that respect which her
superior relationship required.

The day after the last conference, the priests
[301] accordingly dressed themselves in mats, with
[292] wreaths of green leaves round their necks as
[577] tokens of humility, not towards the enemy, but
the gods, as fulfilling a commission sacred in its nature. Thus equipped, they set out on their way to Felletoa. In the mean time, Finow gave orders that none of his men, if they met with a party of the enemy, should commit any act of hostility, but should endeavour on all occasions to avoid them by as speedy a retreat as possible, for as the gods had admonished him to endeavour to make a peace, and the priests were actually fulfilling that endeavour, any act of hostility might defeat their purpose.

The priests went four or five different times to hold conferences with the chiefs of Felletoa before they could bring about a reconciliation. For although the old men seemed willing enough to listen to terms of accommodation, influenced perhaps by their prejudice in favour of Finow as their lawful king, yet the young and spirited warriors, who saw clearly enough

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into the artful character of Finow, with much 669
less of the above prejudice, constantly objected 634
to make peace with a man on whose honour 728
and integrity they thought it impossible to rely 793
with any degree of certainty, and who would again give room for a quarrel with the Vavaoo people whenever it suited his purpose. This was their real thought, and perhaps a just one: though they did not express their sentiments with such latitude to the priests: to these they merely objected their apprehensions, that in the event of a peace, Finow would, at some fit opportunity, wreak his vengeance upon them personally for having fought against him. At length, however, they said that as their lives were not a matter of so much consequence as the peace and happiness of Toe Oomoo and her people generally, they were willing to withdraw their objections, that the affair might be speedily settled according to the wishes of the older chiefs. The priests now returned to Neafoo with the warmest assurances from the chiefs of Felletoa, that they would pay Finow an amicable visit the following day.

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of 669
Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming 728
towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all [292]
armed, painted and decorated with streamers, [431]
forming altogether a very beautiful and ro-

685 matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if
237 not for herself. The remainder of these teeth
634 were discovered a long time afterwards, by the
422 particular intervention (as the natives will have
565 it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when
there being occasion to build and consecrate a
346 house to some god, on the island of Lefooga,
237 it was taken into consideration what valuable
article should be deposited beneath its foundation, according to the custom on such occa-
346 sions. They were about to get ready a large
237 bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the in-
793 spired priest of the god declared it to be the
787 wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth; and that there were several buried together on the small island just spoken of, in such a particular spot: which place being referred to and dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state. This discovery was most firmly and most piously believed to have been made by the sacred interposition of the god himself, who inspired his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if
171 possible, in still greater estimation, for it would
237 be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner, to be known to have a whale's tooth about him; the personal possession of such a

643
tabooles to the house on the *malái* at Neafoo, 669
having, besides their usual dress, small mats 727
round the middle, significant of its being a 728
solemn occasion, and out of respect, too, for 796
Toobo Malohi (although he came as an humble 292
suppliant), for he was a very great chief, supe- [593]
rior even to Toobo Toa, as being his elder bro- [554]
ther. Toobo Malohi being informed that the [301]
king was already seated in the large house on [824]
the *malái*, ready to receive him, he and his fol- [576]
lowers, being all dressed in large mats, ex-
pressive of their very great respect, with leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks as a mark of
submission, went forth, with due sentiments,
thus habited, and accompanied by a priest, to a
house dedicated to Tali-y Toobó, and sat down 643
before it. The priest then addressed the di- 669
vine spirit that was supposed to reside there, to 727
the following purpose: "Here thou seest the 728
"men who have come from Tonga to implore 796
"thy pardon for their crimes; they have been 793
"rebels against those chiefs who hold power [782]
"from divine authority, but, being sorry for
"what they have done, they hope that thou
"wilt be pleased to extend thy protection to-
"wards them for the future." The priest then [824]
rose up, and laid a piece of cava root under the [788]
eaves of the house: after which he proceeded
towards Finow, with the suppliants all follow-

643
669 ing him, one close after another in the order of
727 their rank, their heads bowed down, and their
728 hands clasped before them, and, entering the
796 house on the side opposite the king, they seated
798 themselves before him and his matabooles, their
[824] hands still clasped together, and their heads
[788] bowed down almost to touch the ground. After
a little time, the priest, who sat between them
and the king, addressed the latter to the following
purpose: "You here see Toobo Malohi,
"and his chiefs and followers, who have been
"to implore the pardon of Tali-y Toobó, and
"are now come to humiliate themselves before
"you: not that they expect you will pardon
"them after so obstinate a rebellion, but they
"come to endeavour to convince you of their
"sorrow for so great and heinous a crime:
"they have no expectation but to die, therefore
"your will be done*." After a short
pause, the priest again said, "pass your sentence,
643 "tence, Finow:" he then rose up, and retired
669 among the people. In a little time, Finow
727 said to the supplicants, "*Toogooá he lo ifi*,"
728 Take off the *ifi* leaves (which is a sign of pardon):
796 of which command they took no notice,
[824] as if unwilling to believe so great a mercy was
shewn to them. Finow again said, "*Toogooá*

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* This speech of the priest is to be considered more a matter of form than the real sentiments of the suppliants.

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755 “ cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 “ merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 “ and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
599 “ ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
“ is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
“ *Mommobe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
“ not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
“ why art thou merciless?” (spoken in rather an
impatient and peremptory tone) “ have regard
“ for Finow, and save the life of his daughter.”

Every morning, as before stated, for about a
fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the
god, and addresses were made similar to the
above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a
day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In
about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their
prayers unavailing, they took her to another
fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to
Too'i foo'a Bolo'too. Here the same ceremonies
were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter getting
782 worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
599 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed
into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
[787] sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[776]

to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accus- 755
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the conse- 776
crated house where the sick child lay, but where- [484]
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene- [778]
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en- 634
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276]
following effect; "Why do you weary your- [753]
"selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

787
793 “ gods of Bolotoo.” Every day he visited the
755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her
634 hand and shed tears. During this time the ma-
593 tabooles frequently repaired to the house of the
[753] priest, and laying cava before him, consulted
[565] him privately. On one of these occasions, Fi-
[276] now not being present, he told them that if they
knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? “ If “ my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all “ my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have “ any resentment against us, let the whole “ weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear “ not their vengeance,—but spare my child; “ and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to “ exert all your influence with the other gods, “ that I alone may suffer all the punishment “ they desire to inflict.” To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his
634 spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride,
763 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on
his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, 634
a secret presentiment of approaching death, his 763
female attendants ran out and informed his chiefs and mataboolcs, who in consequence immediately repaired to his house, and found him unable to speak; for as soon as he saw them he endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears coming to his relief, he acknowledged the justice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness instead of going to brave it in the field of battle. After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm tone of voice, "I tremble at the approaching "fate of my country: for I perceive plainly, "that after my death the state of affairs will "be much altered for the worse. I have had "daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects "is not excited by their love but by their "fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to 634
the crowd, were not able to get into the house, 763
but overheard what passed, went immediately 761
to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting 793
him cava root, sat down before him. An old 787
mataboole then addressed him, stating that 776
they had firm belief in the power which the 784
gods possessed of inflicting what punishment 565

634 they chose upon mortals: but he entreated the
763 god to use his influence with the other powers
761 of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at
what Finow had said in the morning, which
793 was merely spoken on the impulse of the mo-
787 ment, when warmly agitated with sentiments
776 of affection for his daughter, and not from any
784 real disrespect to the gods: he supplicated him
[565] also to have regard to the general good of the
islands, and not by depriving them of Finow,
to involve the whole nation in anarchy and
[821] confusion. The priest remained some time in
silence, and was much affected: at length he announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a long time past, debated among themselves with regard to the punishment they should inflict upon Finow, for the many instances he had shewn of disobedience to religious precepts, and of exceeding disrespect for divine power; that they had at first resolved upon his death, but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods also took his part; in consequence of which there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo; not, as he explained to them, by actual fighting, for gods are immortal, and can neither be killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and potent arguments, which had occasioned, he said, the late high winds and tremendous thunder.

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all re-
vocation, that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him some- 793
what better, but did not communicate what 784 593
they had heard from his priest. This however 276
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and 203
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and protector,)
784 during his illness, coming to the *cook-house*
593 and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals
to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed,
she had been in the morning. He now
expressed his intention of passing the night at
her house, which he accordingly did. When
he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly
recovered; but going to his daughter's
mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was
worse than ever. In the course of the morning
he went down to the sea-shore, to give some
orders respecting an alteration he designed in
the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed
himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the
634 greater part of the day. At night he again
763 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
793 early the following morning gave orders for all
787 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on
776 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
784
593
484

daughter also to be carried on board ; then fol- 694
lowing himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo,* 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo.* They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
"structed you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [755]
hour in each, with the hope that she would de-
rive benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the
ground, waiting for the commencement of the
ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,
668 Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring
house, and presented it there to the priest of
787 *Toobo Totai,* out of respect to that god, who
799 was now become the tutelar deity of the young
[776] prince. By the mouth of his priest the god
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should
dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar
[784] care of the powers of Bolotoo? He commanded
[761] him moreover to reflect on the circumstances
of his father's death, as a salutary lesson
[763] to himself: "Your father," said the divinity,
"is now no more;—but why did he die?—because
he was disrespectful to the gods!" The
634 conference here ended. A short time after,
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sitting
784 behind him in waiting, and who was much
respected by the late king and his family, on
account of her having given him some information
respecting a real or supposed conspiracy,
on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono,
Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence
at Macave, and afterwards put to death:
see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

634 well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon
157 his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such,
that many of his enemies were afraid to listen
to him, lest they should be led to view the subject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he always seemed to weigh well what he had to say, in subjects of minor importance he was very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation remarkably distinct. When he laughed, which was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as to be heard at an incredible distance; and with a very strange noise preceding it, as if he were hallooing after somebody a long way off, and the same kind of noise as he always made when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him. When in his house, however, giving orders about his domestic arrangements, his voice was uncommonly mild, and very low.

In regard to his sentiments of religion and
634 policy, they may be pretty well gathered from
771 sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect
793 to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say
781 whether he had any: it is certain that he dis-
776 believed most of the oracles delivered by the
priests; for although he conceived that they
were really inspired, when they appeared to be
so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

of what they declared to be the sentiments of 634
the god was their own invention; and this particularly 771
in regard to what did not suit his own 793
sentiments. He never, however, declared his 787
opinion of these things in public; though he
expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, 776
and some of his intimate friends. He used to say that the gods would always favour that party in war, in which there were the greatest chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that the gods paid much attention in other respects to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think they could have any reason for doing so,—no more than man could have any reason or interest
in attending to the affairs of the gods. He 634
believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably 775
to the notions entertained by his countrymen; 565
that is, that chiefs and mataboolès, having 774
souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according to their rank in this world; but that the common people, having no souls, or those only that die with their bodies, are without any hope of a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of 634
the Tonga islands,—a character not without a considerable share of merit; in some respects not unworthy imitation, and in every respect highly interesting.—We have pourtrayed it at some length, because such characters do not

565 VEACHI', as mentioned before, is another
Egi of divine original, but far from being equal
634 to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his
576 presence, the same as he would that of Tooitonga,
796 and always pays him the usual obeisance
when he happens to meet him: but he has no
peculiar marks of high respect shewn to him, as
are shewn to Tooitonga; that is to say, no ceremonies
that are, in themselves, peculiar and
different from what are shewn to other chiefs
776 by their inferiors. There is this one universal
acknowledgment, however, viz. that he is a
great chief descended from a god, that he is
next in rank to Tooitonga, and superior to
every other chief. His name has no known literal
meaning that Mr. Mariner can discover.

793 PRIESTS OR FAHE-GEHE. The term *fahe-gehe*
means split off, separate, or distinct from, and is
787 applied to signify a priest, or man, who has a
555 peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing
from that of the generality of mankind,
which disposes some god occasionally to inspire
576 him. These inspirations, of which an account
634 has been given vol. i. p. 100, frequently happen,
and on such occasions the priest has the same
565 deference and respect shewn to him as if he
643 were the god himself; if the king happen to be
776 present, he retires to a respectful distance, and
sits down among the body of the spectators, so

belong to one or other of these classes, would 565
be a task very difficult to execute, and perhaps 554
impossible in respect to the people of these
islands; at least, not without making numerous
exceptions and explanations, which would only
be the means of rendering the description both
tedious and complicate. For one and the same [793]
individual, (a priest,) who to-day is held in [787]
scarcely any estimation, may to-morrow, (under
the influence of the inspiration of some god,)
take place of every body present, seat himself
at the head of the cava ring, be respected as
the god himself, and his discourse attentively
listened to as oracular. Again,—the king him- [634]
self, whom one might suppose to be the greatest
person in the country, (and in fact he has the
greatest power,) is by no means the highest
noble, but must yield in point of rank to many
others. In this order of things, therefore, we 128
shall first speak of those persons to whom rank
and respect is yielded, on the score of religious
circumstances; and these are Tooitonga, Veachi,
and the priests.

We here speak of Tooitonga as if actually 643
existing in his full rank, with all the public
honours of religious estimation; but it will be
recollected, that before Mr. Mariner's departure
from Vavaoo the king had done away entirely
with all the ceremonies formerly considered

would Veachi, and so would even the high di- 793
vine chief Tooitonga, because a god is believed 787
to exist at that moment in the priest, and to speak 555
from his mouth: but at other times a priest has 565
no other respect paid to him than what his 776
own proper family rank may require. They ge- [576]
nerally belong to the lower order of chiefs, or to [634]
the matabooles, though sometimes great chiefs [643]
are thus visited by the gods, and the king himself has been inspired by Tali-y-toobo, the chief of the gods. During the time a priest is inspired he is looked on with more or less veneration, according to the rank of the god that inspires him. But more upon this subject under the head of religion.

The civil ranks of society may be thus di- 565
vided; How, or KING; EGI, or NOBLES; MATABOOLES; MOOAS, and TOOAS.

The How, or KING,A is an arbitrary monarch, 643
deriving his right to the throne partly from he- 634
reditary succession, and partly from military power, which latter he is occasionally obliged to exert to secure himself in the former. His power and influence over the minds of the people is derived from the following circumstances; viz. hereditary right; supposed protection of the gods, if he be the lawful heir; his reputation as a warrior; the nobility of his descent; and lastly, but not least, the strength

A [Mariner is here describing the office held by Finow who Mariner mistakenly thought was the Tui Kanokupolu. Finow was only a militarily powerful island governor--Analyst]

771 776 643 islands known by the name of Tooitonga and Veachi are descendants in a right line from two chief gods, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to them.

565 771 793 787 12. That some persons are favoured with the inspiration of the gods, by an actual existence of the god for the time being, in the person (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable of prophesying.

771 577 13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and aged persons; in defending one's hereditary rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friendship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married women, parental and filial love, observance of all religious ceremonies, patience in suffering, forbearance of temper, &c.

[784] 14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.

771 673 15. That several acts acknowledged by all civilized nations as crimes, are under many circumstances considered by them as matters of indifference, such as revenge, killing a servant who has given provocation, or any body else, provided it be not a very superior chief or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a married woman, or one to whom respect is due, on the score of superior rank, from the

them in good order, decorating their inclosures 776
with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods 346
have houses thus consecrated to them, some 778
having five or six, others one or two. The following are the names and attributes of the principal gods. 776

Ta'li-y-Toobo'; (the literal meaning of this name, from which nothing can be deduced, is *Wait there, Toobo!*) He is the patron of the How [643]
and his family, not of Finow in particular, who [634]
is the present king, but of any one who may be king. He is also god of war, and is consequently always invoked in time of war by the How's party: in time of peace he is also occasionally invoked for the general good of the nation, as well as for the particular interest and welfare of the How's family. He has four houses dedicated to him in the island of Vavaoo; [346]
two at the small island of Lefooga, one at Haano, one at Wiha, and two or three others of smaller importance elsewhere. He has no priest, unless [793]
it be the How himself, whom he sometimes inspires: [643]
but it has happened that a How, during [634]
his whole reign, has not been inspired. [787]

Too'i fooa Bolo'too; the literal meaning of this is, "*Chief of all Bolotoo*;" from this name one would suppose him to be the greatest god in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before mentioned; how he came by this name the na-

776 tives themselves can give no account; the only
answer they make is, that such is his proper
name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he
is inferior to Tali y Toobo, insomuch that they
scarcely make a comparison between them; if
you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a
great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very
"great god." "Is Tali y Toobo a greater
"god?" "Yes, much greater." "How great,
"then, is Tali y Toobo?" "He is a great
"chief, from the top of the sky down to the
[565] "bottom of the earth!" He A is also the god of
rank in society, and in this quality he is often
[782] invoked by the heads of great families, as the
king, and other great nobles, on occasion of
[778] sickness, or other family troubles. He has
several houses dedicated to him; three or four
at Vavaoo, one at Lefooga, and a few at other
[793] islands. He has three or four priests, whom
he occasionally inspires; at least Mr. Mariner
[787] is acquainted with three or four, but perhaps
there are others.

[643] Higoolk'o (no literal meaning that we can
discover, unless *igoo leo*, to guard the tail); a
very high god, regarded principally by Tooi-
[793] tonga's family. He has no priest, nor any
[778] house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga.
The natives are uncertain about his attributes.

[634] Toobo Toty, literally, *Toobo the mariner.*

A [the god Too'i fooa Bolo'too--Analyst]

He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god 776
of voyages: in the first quality he is often in- [634]
voked by Finow; in the second quality he is
often invoked by chiefs, going upon any mari-
time expedition; also by any body in a canoe
during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, [778]
but is supposed to have great inflence with that
god; his chief power is extended to the pre-
servation of canoes from accidents: this god
has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at
Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner [793]
only knew one priest belonging to him, but he,
perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in 634
the former part of the history, at the time when
Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, 793
when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his 787
daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in 763
consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, 661
was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty', 784
for not making arrangements among the gods
more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill
his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, how-
ever, prevented by his own death, which hap-
pened as a judgment on him, according to the
people's notions. Vide vol. I.[A]

ALA'I VA'LOO; (*Alai*, no discoverable mean- 776
ing; *Valoo*, the number eight); a god that pa-
tronizes the How's family, but is particularly 634
the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's
aunt. This god is now and then invoked by

[A] [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

776 the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe
[634] Oomoo. He[A] has a large consecrated fencing
at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of
[778] Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is
[793] very frequently consulted in behalf of sick per-
[787] sons.

[755] A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan.* God of wind
and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in
776 general. This god is generally invoked about
821 once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable, or destructive on shore by excessive wind or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is not the god of thunder and lightning, of which, indeed, there is no god acknowledged among them, as this phenomenon is never recollected to have done any mischief of consequence. In boisterous weather at sea, the superior god Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo
776 A'lo. About the time when the yams are full
796 grown (near the latter end of December), the
241 ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an offering of yams, and other provisions, to the god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every ten days, for eight times successively, as will be described under the head of religious rites.
776 This god has only two houses dedicated to him,
778 one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he
793 has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Too'i Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo.* 776
This and the three following gods are all minor [823]
gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors [734]
of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name,
he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before
him; but much upon an equality with the three
following. He has two houses dedicated to him [778]
at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere [793]
that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps,
two or three priests.

Ha'la A'pi A'pi; literally, *a road crowded.*
He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.
Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to [778]
him. He has one priest. [793]

To'gi Oocumme'a; literally, *an iron axe.* The
same attributes as the above.

Toobo' Boo'goo; literally, *Toobo the Short.*
The same attributes as the above.

Tangalo'a; god of artificers and the arts: [778]
doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: [793]
has several priests, who are all carpenters. It [322]
was this god that brought the Tonga islands [773]
from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the
chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and
power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of Egies, or Nobles: of these there 775
must be a vast number. Their attributes are 769
similar to those of the primitive chief gods: [787]

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number,
but only five or six are supposed to be parti-
cularly active; and from their disposition to
plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of
being the cause of all the petty inconveniences
and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Na-
vigator's islands), they have an idea which is
very convenient to the reputation of the fe-
males, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest
them in their sleep, in consequence of which
there are many supernatural conceptions: at
Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[782] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[784] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the
[828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are
for their own whim and delight; they lead tra-
vellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump
upon their backs in the dark, cause the night-
mare and frightful dreams. They are never
seen.

[823] Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This,
as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being,
greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[781] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

648 people from a vast burden of taxes, by annulling
634 the title of Tooitonga, and the expensive
651 ceremony of *Inachi*, with a view, also, (as the
628 reader will recollect) to do away with the necessity
of any communication with the Hapai
565 people. Veachi, being a sensible, good, quiet
644 sort of man, who interfered in no public matters,
and who had nothing to do with the people
of other islands but his own, (Toongooa,) was
still suffered to retain his dignity, and probably
does to this day; and, in that case, is the greatest
chief at the Tonga islands, for the late Tooitonga's
son, if he have not been since made a
178 Tooitonga, is below Veachi in rank. Thus it
628 appears that the Tonga islands are undergoing
a considerable change, both in respect to religion
and politics; and if the communication
between Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and
between both places and Tonga, should remain
closed for a number of years, it would be a curious
inquiry, to investigate what changes the
language will undergo in those respective places.

793 In regard to the priests, their habits are precisely
565 the same as other persons of the same
rank; and, when they are not inspired, all the
respect that is paid to them is that only which
[634 is due to their private rank. Mr. Mariner recollects
787] no chief that was a priest: he has,
indeed, seen the king inspired by Taly-y-Toobo

(who never inspires any body but the king,) 793
but he is not strictly considered a priest on this [565]
account; those only, in general, being consi- [634]
dered priests, who are in the frequent habit of [787]
being inspired by some particular god. It most
frequently happens that the eldest son of a
priest, after his father's death, becomes a priest
of the same god who inspired his father. The 793
general circumstances of fits of inspiration have 787
been already noticed (vol. i. p. 100). When a
priest is inspired, he is thought capable of prophesying, or, rather, the god within him is said sometimes to prophesy; these prophecies generally come true, for they are mostly made on the probable side of a question, and when they do not come to pass as expected, the priest is not blamed, but it is supposed the gods for some wise purpose have deceived them; or that the gods, for ought they know, have since changed their mind, and ordered matters otherwise; or that the god who inspired the priest spoke prematurely, without consulting the other gods.

At the Sandwich islands the priests appear to [771]
be a distinct order or body of men, living for [554]
the most part together, holding occasional conferences, and at all times respected by the body of the people; whereas, at the Tonga islands the priests live indiscriminately with the rest of the natives, are not respected on the score of

793 their being priests, unless when actually in-
[787] spired, and hold no known conferences together,
171 as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently as-
554 sociated with them, knew their general conduct,
and inquired the opinion of all classes of the
[777] natives respecting them; and, after all, has no
[124] reason to think that they combine together for
the purpose of deceiving the people. He found
nothing that he conceived very remarkable in
their general character: if there was any dif-
ference between them and the rest of the na-
tives, it was that they were *rather* more given
to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and
probably greater observers of what was going
[292] forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to
distinguish them. The most remarkable of their
793 prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those
787 mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young
chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bo-
lotoo; and on that of the illness of Finow and
his daughter, when one became better the other
793 became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests
565 associate with the chiefs as much as other ma-
643 tabooles and mooas; and, although Tooitonga
and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still
they have no more to do with the priests, nor
are they any otherwise connected with them,
nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

128 Having thus far given a general view of the

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary cir-
565 cumstance was to make this necessary, the in-
ferior would be obliged to retire to his own ex-
276 terior circle, and the superior visitor would pre-
574 side: for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
[793] chief in company, who would otherwise have
[787] that honourable situation, now retires, with
other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of
respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,
but out of veneration to the god supposed to
exist within him; so that the superior circle, in
such a case, consists principally of matabooles
and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as
distant relations to the gods, and no person
may sit in the upper circle along with his supe-
rior relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest
presides, which is the case at all religious ce-
remonies, except where they are consulting
a god who has no priest*, the latter always

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[776] * When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobó, for instance,
no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the
place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,
[778] the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava
party is always held before the house consecrated to the god:
(as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.)
And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

651 thanks for their divine bounty in favouring the
796 land with the prospect of so good a harvest,
788 and prays that their beneficence may be continued
769 in future: this prayer he makes in the
names of several chiefs present, whom he announces
aloud. This being done, he arises and
retires to his former place: the men now also
rise and resume their loads in the same order,
and, after having paraded round two or three
times before the grave, return back to the malái
the same way they came, singing and blowing
651 the conchs as before. The chiefs and matabooles,
796 a short time afterwards, rise and follow
them to the same place, where the yams are
now again deposited, and loosened from the
poles, still, however, retaining their ornaments.
The company seat themselves in a large circle,
at which Tooitonga presides; the king, and
other great chiefs, retiring behind among the
mass of the people. The other articles that
form part of the *Ináchi* are next brought forward;
these are dried fish, *mahoa'*, mats, *gnátoo*,
and bundles of *mellecobla*, which, together with
the yams (although not cooked), are shared out
[796] by one of the matabooles of Tooitonga. First,
[793] there is a considerable share (about one fourth),
[643] allotted to the gods, which the priests appropriate,
and their servants immediately take
away: about one half is allotted to the king,

which his servants, without farther orders, take 651
away to his house, and the remainder is taken 796
away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem [776]
strange that the latter has a smaller share than [793]
the king, but then he has not a quarter the number [643]
of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed,
the company form a regular cava party: some 651
cava root is brought and prepared, and a large 796
quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred 276
and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which 574
is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to
each chief according to his rank. The day con- 651
cludes with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which 796
night dances commence. When these are ended, [526]
the people retire home, perfectly assured of the [535]
protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions 651
shared out is incredible; the people, there- 796
fore, look upon it as a very heavy tribute,
though in fact the owners of the plantations 574

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity
if the season should not be abundant: but it is so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal and profuse presents, that the people generally either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens that several great feasts are given nearly about the same time; as for instance, the occasion of the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a distant island, after a long absence; the marriage or death of some great chief, as of Tooi-
[261] tonga himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
[784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition
is put upon several kinds of food, that they may not be eaten for a certain length of time, at the termination of which they perform the following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*: a famine or war may also occasion a necessity for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 **Fuccalahi**, i. e. to make all at large or free again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon the subject, except that it is generally concluded with a cava party.

[574]
[793] **Cava Fucca egi**: this consists in a cava
[787]

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means lite- [787]
rally, *a god-like cava.* Laying a small piece of
cava root before the grave of a chief or conse- [769]
crated house, out of respect to a god, or to a
deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will
be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [821]
a continuation of favourable weather, and con- [776]
sequent fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo*[*] districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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[*] *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south [823]
end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [192]
[103]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES OF FISH GODS

539 776 Three deities are concerned in this group of tales, namely Tui Tofua, Fakapatu, and Seketoa, who reside, respectively, at Tofua and Moungaone islands in the Haapai group, and at Niuatoputapu island. Tui Tofua and Seketoa are believed to be transformed men.

776 793 [539] In one version of the tale concerning the contest with Fakapatu another fish god is mentioned, namely Taufatahi, who was rather an important deity in the Tongan pantheon and one for whom, at least in Tongatabu, a priest and a sacred precinct were established. In 1921 a priest of this god was living at Mua, Tongatabu. His name was Kautai.

539 [124] [128] Six versions of the tale about the origin of the shark god Tui Tofua were obtained and three of them are printed in this collection. The variations in the other three are as follows:

The tale as told by Samson Latu of Haafeva island, Haapai, transposes the names of the father and son in the story, making Tui Tofua the father and Vakafuhu the son. It is the latter who is transformed into a man-eating mud shark (*tenifa*). Vakafuhu's canoe became the rock known as Tolungamaka. After the offerings were made by relatives to Vakafuhu and his companions, small black volcanic pebbles, such as are used on Tongan graves today, appeared for the first time on the beach of Siuatama, Tofua island. They were used on the graves of the men who were transformed into sharks, for such were the instructions which Vakafuhu had transmitted through a Samoan companion who was not transformed.

Samuel Pele, of Faleloa, Foa island, Haapai group, adds to his version an account of the struggle between the fish god Tui Tofua and the fish god Seketoa from Niuatoputapu, a deity of similar origin; Tui Tofua taking the form of the sokisoki, a spiny fish and entering his rival's stomach. In this version the little finger of the Samoan is severed and becomes a shark instead of a porpoise as in another version. The approach of Tui Tofua and his accompanying sharks is heralded by a discoloration of the sea. The tale relates that should a vessel sink near Tofua or Kotu island, no one will lose his life, because Tui Tofua, the protecting deity is near.

The version related by Paul Taufiaevalu, of Nukualofa, states that the hero, the son of the king of Tofua, had just returned from Samoa with his followers, where he had gone to be tattooed. In this version the son commits fornication with his father's concubines during his father's absence. Upon the latter's return, the son and all of his comrades are condemned to death. The condemned youths seek escape by jumping into the sea and becoming sharks. There were six of them in all. The young chief sent word to his father by a Samoan follower that he intended to become a

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

359. **Halaia Moli tuku kia Loli:** Moli guilty—attribute it to Loli. 539

We have no information about Moli and Loli, but the phrase means 571
that the blame of one man's wrong-doing is thrown onto another.

360. **Hola pe te ke hao ki he fale o Vave:** Flee that you may be 539
safe to the house of Vave. 571

Vave was a great warrior who lived in Haavakaotua, a district near 701
Nukualofa. So great was his might and so secure were those whom he protected that to flee to him for safety passed into a proverb.

361. **Tekei a Lei hono fuu mei:** Pushing Lei from his bread- 539
fruit tree. 571

We have not been able to get any story relative to Lei or his bread- 421
fruit tree, but the expression means to deprive anyone of what rightfully belongs to him.

362. **Vikia vikia a Apolosi, Pea kuo te viku pongipongi:** Apollos 539
is praised, praised, and I am wet in the morning. 793

This is modern, since the introduction of Christianity. Apollos was a Tongan native clergyman held in high repute. On one occasion he was sailing in a boat with a silly man named Pane whom during the course of the voyage he pushed into the sea. Pane sank, and as he came up vented his disgust at the cleric's treatment in the above rather cryptic utterance. The force of "in the morning" seems to be either that the outrage was perpetrated early in the day, or early in the voyage, or perhaps that this was Pane's first acquaintance with the reverend gentleman, and so "right away," "first go off." "Here's a nice sort of chap for you; everybody praises him, but all I've ever got out of him is a jolly good ducking."

LEGENDARY DEITIES

363. **Alu hifo ki takele o Maui:** Go down to Maui's foundation, 539
that is, to the depths of the earth. 776

In the distribution to the gods of residences the Underworld was 773
assigned to Maui.

364. **Jika a Maui:** Darting of Maui. 539

Used of a long throw in the game of *jika*. Baker renders the phrase, 776
"columns of smoke," which seems to liken a column of smoke rising straight 773
and high into the air to the great cast which Maui might be expected to 524
make in the form of *jika* in which the object was to throw as high as possible; but since the Maui lived in the Underworld it may be that the column of smoke is likened to a cast of these redoubtable deities from their subterranean home into the upper air.

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539 **618. Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing
535 while the gods dance.

776 More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including
[787] priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless
[713] for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they
themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the
denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make
their own fun.

539 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that
535 is, in close proximity to it.

183 One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and
868 performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the
expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art,
knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it
183 the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune,
777 reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length
[797] experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual
present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to
their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

[823] It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good
Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very
difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

539 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**

152 We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to
571 explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have
695 some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making
a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or,
taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of
that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

226 closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by
[789] unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad
[784] luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks,
[202] a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some
distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that
[574] this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a
large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter
has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The
catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say,
[644] fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the
[793] representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the
established church (both of these sharks are looked upon
[651] as tribute indirectly to royalty—to the representative of
royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the
remainder are divided among the households of the village.
A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions.
226 If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert
789 makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by
the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu*
784 is considered lifted from the house. If some small object
276 has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside
the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal
making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may
thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

226 Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in
complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedition in every particular. The months from September to
[221] February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(pola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

805 calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue
[213] of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use.
Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to
mark off one Sunday from another and this function is
performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 So far we have been referring to the average villager.
The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use
[644] of reading and writing than the villager. For them these
[793] techniques are necessary for the study of government or
church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of
their own reports. A few others in the village may also try
to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village
212 school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed
875 an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy
829 of *Reader's Digest*. Even the simplified English of this
magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful
whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One
[554] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on
the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his
[123] apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure
subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to
the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an
English-language magazine.

212 Another villager interested in the use of his skills is
Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to
[451] provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce.
He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which
he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an
212 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is
very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he
177 has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so
829 frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing
techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the
average villager. But this comes about from the fact that
Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more
interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture
than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is
particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he
has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years.
For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

585 This may be best emphasized by outlining the formal
[128] marriage ceremony and then giving a short case-study to
show the limit of variations on the pattern.

In any formal marriage, much preparation is concerned
585 with the collection of the necessary gifts, transfer of which
583 in the old days constituted the validation of the marriage
431 relationship and which today are still necessary if the
marriage is performed according to rule. These gifts are
collected together by the father of the groom. They consist
of a ceremonial skirt *(vala to‘onga)*, six or more specially-made sleeping mats, quantities of bark cloth and clothing.
The mats have taken years to make. They have been
specially made for some future marriage and have been
carefully stored away until needed. Relatives may be asked
to contribute further fine mats, in which case they are later
repaid with return-gifts of mats. The gifts are all brought
together in the house of the groom's father and the bride and
her relatives are invited to inspect the display. The groom's
father must also bring together great quantities of food,
pigs, and *kava*. This preliminary collection may well take
a week or more to complete.

585 When all is ready, the groom's sisters escort the bride
to the groom's father's house. There the groom's mother
[292] dresses the bride in a *vala* which consists of a four-fathom
length of bark cloth. The bride returns to her own house,
bathes and dries her body with the bark cloth *vala*. She
again returns to the groom's father's house where the father
has prepared a small feast. She is accompanied this time by
her mother and her mother's sisters. All eat. Then the
bride and groom together with a party of relatives go to
Neiafu to secure the civil marriage-license. They return to
[793] Pangai, eat more food, and proceed to the church where
the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. The
[435] marriage license costs eight shillings, the marriage ceremony
whatever the groom can afford to give the pastor—ten
shillings would be a more than adequate gift from the
ordinary family. After this the groom goes to his father's
[292] house, the bride to her father's house where she dresses in
the ceremonial *vala* provided by the groom's father.

All meet again at the groom's father's house where the
gifts of mats and bark cloth have been piled high outside

CHURCH SUPPORT

794 The Protestant villager supports his church by attending church at least seven times each week, by sending his children to Sunday school, by paying quarterly dues of 2/- per member, by building and repairing his church, by paying his pastor a small stipend (in Pangai, five or six pounds per year), by providing a plantation-garden for the pastor, by providing the kerosene for the lamps of evening service. Children graduate from Sunday school to full church-membership at about the age of sixteen years.

793 794 In return the pastor is on hand to bless every necessary occasion with Divine help and support. He also provides powerful moral and spiritual exhortations for each church service. An easy-going pastor will get on well with his church members. Pastors with unbending principles, on the other hand, will often come into conflict with the villagers, especially when he urges them to put principles into practice. The Protestant villager is unbending in his principles, more easy about practice. He will often criticize mildly those whose actions suggest a slipping of morality. But he feels that it is the job of the police to do more than this; and if the police do not do more, then he is content to let well alone.

794 589 [586] [587] As a sidelight on both religion and morality in the village, it may be noted that should a local lay-preacher (deacon) lose his wife by death, he generally resigns his preaching commission as long as he remains a widower, applying to have his name again entered on the rolls when he remarries. The apparent assumption by all concerned is that one should not be asked to trust a lay-preacher, by definition one who is both highly religious and highly moral, to remain a pure-souled, good, unsinful Christian while unmarried. Wise in the ways of men, the Wesleyan Church prefers to put no Tongan to such a test.

794 According to the pastor of the Neiafu Free Wesleyan Church, the village of Pangai itself is considered in church circles to be a pretty poor village both economically and spiritually. This is inferred from the fact that there is a long-standing debt of some twenty-odd pounds on the church-house. No amount of prodding seems to make it possible

794 pork, and the usual vegetable staples. The guests sat for an
574 hour before all this food while the local pastor led the group
in prayer, hymn-singing and Bible reading. Then the word
was given to eat. The church bell tolling the hour of mid-
[578] week service came all too soon after this. Some guests were
heard to criticize the holding of church services at the usual
hour on this day insofar as they felt that they had not been
given reasonable time to eat as much of the food displayed
[431] as they desired. Many of the guests were given large baskets
of food to take with them when they left. This they brought
out to eat in their own houses when church was finished.
794 While appreciating Koloa's generosity in giving such a large
574 feast, some of the villagers thought that the display was
rather ostentatious if it was for the mere purpose of
578 honouring Sunday-school prize-winners. But Koloa was
554 greatly attached to his two grandchildren, and he had
[603] decided that if he was to give a feast, then only the biggest
feast was good enough for them. He did not overlook the
fact that only a man very wealthy in Tongan foods could
give such a feast. In this way, therefore, Sunday-school
prizes became the excuse to express both his affection for his
children and his status in the village community.

THE LAY-PREACHER

794 With the exception of the village pastors, none are more
793 important in the village in the functioning of the Protestant
churches than the lay-preachers. They occupy a middle
554 stage in the religious hierarchy between pastor at the top
and church congregation at the bottom. They are those specially devout religious men who for one reason or another have been unable to qualify for the full period of training that is necessary before being ordained as a pastor but who have had sufficient religious fervour to study for and pass the examinations that are the prerequisite for certification as a lay-preacher by the Church Conference. The duties of the lay-preacher in Pangai—there are about five of them in the Free Wesleyan Church—are to relieve the church pastor for one or more of the seven church-services and prayer-meetings each week in Pangai and to help the pastor by giving further relief in the administration of the Pangai "circuit" which includes two other villages besides Pangai.

578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues against me, and they were so demoralised by the turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation. [651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere, and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High 651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard 439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising 436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected, 793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms. 798 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had 795 [797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church. [797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual [618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they "talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by 186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
829

his father, wanted to resign, and was pressing him to 578 645
follow his example. They were sowing distrust of him 622
in the king's mind, and there was a strong party of Free [793]
Church ministers and their sympathisers in Haapai and
Vavau who were doing all in their power to damage him.
I soundly rated Tungi for his pusillanimity, saying that 645
it was cowardly to throw up the sponge before we had 578
even made one effort. They were appointed by the king,
and as long as they had the king's support it did not
matter two straws what people said or did. As for words,
no Government in the world existed without enemies who
abused it, but men who undertook public duties knew
that words hurt no one. Our course was plain: we
must see the king, and assure ourselves of his support;
if he refused to support us, then it would be time to
resign.

Tukuaho assented ruefully. Other Governments, he 645
said, did not mind having enemies because they had 643
friends as well; but he seemed to have lost all his
friends, and the king himself listened to others rather
than to him. Poor Tukuaho's political prospects did not
look very bright certainly, but I would not admit this to
him, and before I left we had arranged to visit the king
in Haapai, while Kubu, the Minister of Police, and his
uncle, Sateki, were to leave at once for the outlying
groups of Vavau, Niua-foou, and Niua-tobutabu,[1] to hold
meetings and explain the nature of the changes that had
taken place, before any garbled account should reach
them.

Until the house lent to us by the Tongan Government 645

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[1] See map at end.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which, though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light, wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner possible, and to content myself by making the trader sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to receive money for taxes after January 1, four months hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that, friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to
563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are "agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government, they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these, fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to
[186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one
[829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take
793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church
798 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
645

sistent misrepresentation of me as a champion of the 793 798
Wesleyans had contributed to the popular suspicion. The 645
manners of the average Tongan to a white man whom he 609
dislikes and does not fear leave much to be desired. I 576
found myself jostled off the road by men on horseback,
and subjected to many other petty annoyances. All this 645
had to be borne good-temperedly if my mission was to 609
be successful; and I knew that in a few months I could
succeed in changing the hostility and suspicion into
friendliness.

My first task was to inspire the chiefs with confidence: 645
the people would follow their lead all in good time. As 622
soon, therefore, as we were installed in our new house, I
invited Fatafehi, the king's grandson, to visit me. This 644
chief enjoys a far higher degree of rank than his relation- 622
ship to the sovereign would confer upon him, for he is a 554
chief of the spiritual line; and now that the office of Tui 643
Tonga has been abolished, and Christianity has removed
the superstition by which the descendant of the Immortals
was surrounded, he enjoys the highest consideration
in the kingdom after the king. To him alone, besides the [195]
king, is used the peculiar language of respect by which
the deity is addressed. Of the curious polity of Tonga [128]
before the introduction of Christianity I shall speak hereafter.

Although hedged by divinity, Fatafehi bears his honours 644
with great ease and good-humour. He has a jolly round 622
face, fringed with grizzled whiskers and moustache; and his kindly expression and burly figure give him the appearance of a gentleman farmer when times were good. He is, moreover, almost the only Tongan who, in dress clothes,

644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
[493] When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
[291] in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
[645] bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
[793] urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
[798] and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

344 In Government House there were traces of a weatherboard bungalow, but the shingles had long ago rotted away, and been replaced from time to time with odd scraps of galvanised iron, rust-eaten through and through. The verandah posts had fallen, bringing down the roof with them, and the gaps in the flooring were mended with 342 bits of an old canoe. But dilapidated as the house of his Majesty's representative was, it was a mansion in comparison to that of the Minister of Finance in *Nukualofa*, which seemed only to hold together to clear the character of its owner from any suspicion that an empty treasury might reasonably attach to him.

It now transpired that Tukuaho had in his suite a 645 203 couple of spies devoted to his interests, whose business [208] was to loaf into the houses of their acquaintances and gauge public opinion. One of them, Peter Vi, would have surpassed even the "Sham Squire" if they had been contemporaries. His fat empty face and rotund person disarmed suspicion; and he had besides an odour of the cloth about him, for his father and grandfather were both 793 reverend pillars of the Free Church. The latter, indeed, was the oldest native minister, and a contemporary of the [291] king. He paid us a visit in a hand-cart soon after we arrived, with a black coat over his *vala*, and a tall hat, carefully brushed the wrong way, upon his reverend head. The poor old gentleman had lost the use of his lower limbs and of part of his intellect; but he said a prayer over us, and went his way, leaving a vapour of respectability behind him which doubtless served to rehabilitate such disreputable politicians as we were believed to be: for although his son, as a Free Church minister, is dis-

VI.

THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histri- [152]
onic instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon
the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas*
and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had
formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second 796
choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church 533
was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral competition [621]
between the different divisions of the town, the
outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction
of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his [793]
stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung
with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of
native composition. An inspiriting address followed, 796
often interrupted by cries of applause. They were
working up their enthusiasm for the real business of
the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which
the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old
woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became
deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whispered 781
my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she 783
had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage,
drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, indeed, [195]
throughout the evening that the women had a far
greater command of language than the men. Before she had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

648 could express the denial that rose to his lips, I read him
578 a quotation from one of his sermons in which he talked of
797 the injustice done to the good Baker, and of fighting. I
795 asked him whether to talk to natives of fighting was not likely to put the idea into their heads, if it was not there already. He said, "When I said that I meant to warn them of doing anything so foolish; and though I do sympathise with Mr Baker, there were many of his actions with which I did not at all agree." I then told him that the Government, with great reluctance, had resolved to take action against him unless he gave me a formal assurance that he would not only abstain from opposing them, but would also hold himself responsible for the actions and language of his subordinates; and I added that we expected more from him than mere abstention — he must give us a loyal support. After some hesitation he promised to do all that lay in his power, and C—— took his words down as he spoke them. He then said that there was one thing which he wanted very much to know—who had given me the information? I told him that I did not doubt his curiosity, but that I had not the slightest intention of enlightening him. The man might have fared badly if his identity had been known. Whoever he was, he was a good reporter.

797 However difficult it may be to sympathise with a man
795 who has betrayed his employers, I could not help pitying
793 Mr Watkin, who was made responsible for the actions of the most self-satisfied and insubordinate body of ecclesiastics in the world. Since Mr Baker's departure it was evident that his influence over them was waning, and

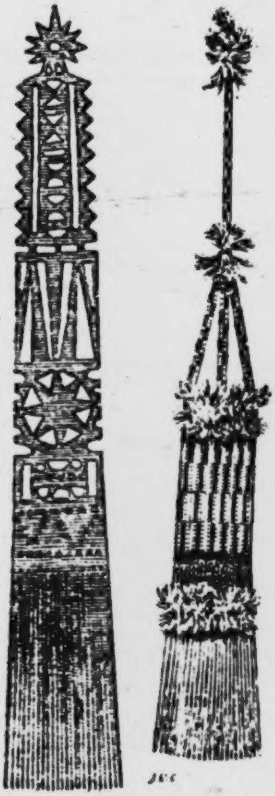
already they were asking why they should not elect 797
one of themselves as President of their "Conference," 795
and why their salaries should be lower than that of their 793
white brother. From this it is only a step to a new
and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a
bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories
and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode 621
first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police 645
and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, [493]
being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, [492]
travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every
now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while
we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace
for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not [492]
all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them
in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of
flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great 825
banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these
were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered
that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands
upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping, crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their
uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads
with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath
the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome
presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we
had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows
why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—
and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

797 presuming to speak to him in a standing posture,—a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probable answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the enclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked,—a precaution against intrusion which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flock.

If the missionaries were overbearing to the chiefs even at that early date, a light is thrown upon the curious persistence with which some of them clung to paganism.
[77] The ancient beliefs of the Polynesians never formed a system of religion, and, to compare small things with great, as the way was already smoothed for Christianity by the growing scepticism of the Roman empire, so were the minds of the Tongan chiefs ripe to seize upon any religious creed with a more logical foundation than the
793 worn-out mummeries of their own ancestor-worship. Per-
771 haps the ancient priestcraft, with its exactions of votive offerings and its hysterical oracles, would have shared the fate of its forgotten predecessor, phallus-worship, had the
793 priests been less politic and tactful. But they knew that
565 the existence of their order depended upon the union of
[787] Church and State; and their oracular utterances, plastic as those of Delphi, were directed always to upholding the privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the 793
regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the 565
priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-com- [787]
mand to gasp prophecies in re-
markable accordance with the [531]
chief's interest. That they, like [302]
the Augurs, could meet without
grinning, was doubtless due to
the grim reality of the risk that
often attached to the sacerdotal
office; for was not the priest of
Tubou Totai already doomed to
be strangled for failing to restore
Finau's daughter, when sudden
death overtook his patron?
Even seventeen years before the [771]
arrival of the first missionaries,
the chiefs did not care to con-
ceal their scepticism; and per-
haps, if the tragic death of Finau
had not seemed so signal a re-
venge of the outraged gods, the
missionaries would have found
that the ancient faith had
crumbled away of itself before
their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests 793
had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing
their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to
the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by 797
missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them- 565

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— 797
they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their
rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power
was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep
ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in 797
Australia to believe that universal suffrage and repre- 177
sentative government is the nearest approach to Utopia 642
attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and
chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the
ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on
the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at
work in the Australian colonies will know best how it
was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of
their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their
chief think for them, now found themselves free to think
and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result
was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries,
who began to find the smattering of education they had
given to their native helpers a source of danger. The 797
native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and 793
began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions 465
were whispered about salaries. What was the difference
between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should
have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20
and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisi- 797
tive genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, 795
the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal
of the funds, and the country was annually drained of
many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local
expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for
a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

694 Hardly had the king returned when a new task was
563 thrust upon my collar-galled shoulders. The contractor for the tax-copra, to whom I have before alluded, brought an action against the Government in the High Commissioner's Court to recover damages for the losses he had sustained through over-estimating the amount of copra the taxpayers would bring in. To the Tongans, knowing nothing of civil jurisdiction, the position of defendant in a court of law has mysterious terrors. "Here," they said, "is the fruit of this new Government! We are to be haled to court and punished for the sins of Tukuaho and his foreign adviser. We shall be fined, and then a man-of-war will come and perhaps seize the country." There being no counsel within reach, I had to conduct the case in person. I felt sure enough of my ground to promise the king a victory, or at least that, in the event of defeat, I would myself pay whatever damages were given against us; and this confident assurance went far to dispel his alarm: but the case occupied seventeen precious days at a time when they could least be spared. Yet our victory afterwards proved to be almost worth the waste of time, for the fickle mind of the Tongans leans ever to the winning side, and our contractor unwittingly gained us many adherents in Parliament.

793 The Free Church ministers, aghast no doubt at the
645 portent of the election of four Wesleyans to represent
609 Nukualofa, now shot their last bolt. They began to
[798] preach against me in the pulpit. Early one Monday morning a letter written in Fijian was handed to me with great secrecy by a mounted messenger from Hihifo, who had followed me about until he found me alone. It

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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was from an old Fijian friend of mine, who wrote to tell 793
me that in two pulpits at least I had been the text for 645
the sermon of the previous day. One preacher, after 609
describing the distrust with which my arrival had inspired him, said, "We hear a great deal about stealing and embezzlement. What? Do foreigners never steal? This one who guides our Government has stolen 7000 dollars from the Treasury, and who knows how much more of our money he will take? In the sermon of the other there was a passage not less startling. "When the theft became known the foreigner went to Tukuaho and said, 'Who told the people this?' And Tukuaho said, 'It was Sateki. You know his way: let a matter be ever so secret, Sateki will find it out.' Hearing this the foreigner was silent and cast down."

I put the matter in Tukuaho's hands. The police made inquiries, and traced the story to its source in the fertile
brain of the first preacher. The Cabinet decided that [694]
policy demanded a prosecution for slander, but that if the [696]
man was convicted I might obtain a pardon for him from the king. This course was taken. The incident was instructive in the light it threw upon the estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. No calumny against them is thought too gross to be ridiculous. The responsibility for such a state of things must rest upon those Europeans—missionaries as well as laymen—who have stooped to defame one another to the natives.

The High Commissioner, in H.M.S. Cordelia, now 609
appeared upon the scene. It chanced that the gunboat 648
Goldfinch, bound from Rarotonga to Fiji, had put in on the preceding day in search of coal, knowing nothing of the

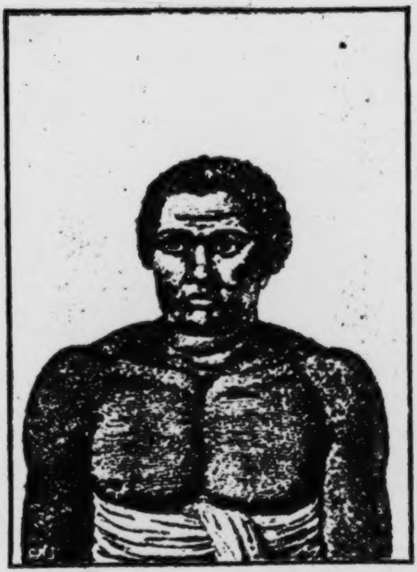
is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious attention [142]
of the Cabinet, to whom [391]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [302]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wrestles
in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still supposed
to be undergoing imprisonment
for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

The clerk of the Parliament.

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
787 his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-
701 canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
501 lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
713 725 obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
787 their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pre-
669 634 tended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regret-
ting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regard-
175 634 ing the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
643 in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
782 mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
643 was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
776
793

still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175
slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634
776
head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest 793
answered that her death was required as an atonement for his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he deter-
mined on the most [142]
impious revenge he [291]
could devise—name- [302]
ly, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he
was seized with sud- [782]
den illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was
dead. But the evil 175
he had wrought in 634
Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-


Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière.
(From an engraving in the British Museum.)

175 breath after their run, were at a great disadvantage. The
643 other two did not await his onset, but fled, leaving him
victorious.

[634] Such was his reputation as a warrior, that he was
marked as the future leader of the Haapai people when
he had scarcely attained manhood. He was twenty-three
when his father died in 1820, and the unity of Tongatabu,
bought by years of hard fighting, was again swept away
by civil war. Taufaahau saw no advantage in following
his father's example, who ever wearily pushed up the
stone of conquest in Tongatabu only to see it roll back
upon him weakened by his hopeless labour. The Government
of Haapai, impoverished as it was by the years
of war, would give him work enough.

[628] For six years there was no Tui Kanokubolu. The
garrisons of Tongatabu still lived within their intrenchments,
but they were tired of war, and for a time there
was an armed peace. But a power was at hand which
was destined to accomplish that which invading armies
175 had fought in vain. In June 1822 a Methodist mis-
797 sionary named Lawry, fired by the writings of the sur-
vivors of the artisan missionaries landed by the Duff,
[771] made a second attempt to teach Christianity. The grow-
ing disbelief in the ancient superstitions that had led
Finau Ulukalala to attempt the abolition of the great
inaji, and to curtail the privileges of the Tui Tonga,
[793] had spread to Tongatabu. The influence of the priests
had been undermined by the licence of war, and Lawry
had not to face the difficulties that beset the pioneers
[634] of the Duff. He found the chief power in Tongatabu
to be in the hands of Maealiuaki, or Talau as he was

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of 776
a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean
information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the
best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old
pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair
idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with
other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in 778
some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too
much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which [368]
one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the [361]
population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. [178]
In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones,
pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with
yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully 778
preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the 285
same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished
mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the [825]
priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the
temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the
animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom
the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a 787
vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation
with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words 778
used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him [825]
signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material
objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This,
however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need
restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the 787
god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were
others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. [793]
To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to
be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in [753]
Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a
native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there
are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of
divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of
orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, 787
who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied
inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the 793
divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without
any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement [776]
is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of [154]

787 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
793 been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
787 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays some-
782 times make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accom-
paniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
276

a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the 782
god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the
precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but 276
visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded
banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the 782
coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native 276
ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I 415
obtained possession of seversl of the cups used on that occasion, but
unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have
long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive
insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that 276
personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the
epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking
prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next
morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at
least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly
caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite
probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication.
Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as
indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the
kava is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I
can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward,
that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity
than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the
green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the 793
tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satis-
factorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable 787
for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of [157]
an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition,
exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears
to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day [787]
member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and
successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information
concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or
protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as
sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There 721
seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this
important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the 787
indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at [776]
least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the
shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought
refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that [177]
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness,
and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what
follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally
correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however
inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when
reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting
to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are
living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full
account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives
of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing
and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has
himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible
both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been
given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been
forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

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II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
776 related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
[775] being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
643 great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
[565] Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
[793] Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
[276] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
[574] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

[643] The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
[782] *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

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NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocot.

PART II.

Tui Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa 776
and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a
village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living [171]
Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here
a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua 776
was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their 778
places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [764]
to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but
others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man
was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua
was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means 776
the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king 613
of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the
tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and 776
for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or [825]
post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or
tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end [778]
of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently 793
speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then
evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," 787
using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same
word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [192]
course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those
who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed
as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, 776
and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick [753]
by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred
previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing [842]
in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not
unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

[p. 227]

776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[798] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
776 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
643 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu, but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
643 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
778 house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
793

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the 276
ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the 778
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to 793
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea 781
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the 241
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 784
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talisi Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now 776
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the 554
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of 361
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, 643
already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly [776]
there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui
Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used 643
in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at
the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the 644
back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony. 824

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*,
but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a 776
man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably 825
his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being
a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the [787]
fuhu. [793]

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka
and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. 776
Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only
by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers 583
in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her [192]
voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression
meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like
Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, 776 -
having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave
birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these [824]
islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the
Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called [825]
Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka
in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka
(lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu,
and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The [262]
clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the
western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus
which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. 776
It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland.
When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as 825
the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the [823]
shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people
resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and 776
earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by 793
an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably [825]
sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature. [787]

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the
flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was 776
being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with 784
[262]
[827]

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776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784 dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
827 head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
766 perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
237 facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
787] bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

226 Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
782 accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
824 but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the
776 Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773] story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

776 Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[773] was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no 776
reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty [825]
little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in
the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity [825]
manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labahu (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ae-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in 776
his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which
becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, 778
valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, [252]
and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and [764]
the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings.
These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant [782]
volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The
priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not 776
clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such 755
soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. [757]
The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of
mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and
use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground
on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui 776
(The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of 349
Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also
connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people 776
knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. 825

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to
find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this [643]
bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already
mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this
connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The 825
home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he 763
flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an
indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would
be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this [164]
bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous
cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the [165]
nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled
with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic
influenza.

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed 793
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The pre-
sent Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes ap- 787
pears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Con-
vent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric de-
signs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European
residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners ?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to [202]
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too,
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently 796
we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
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565

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new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The 565
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 576
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 292
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all [634]
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appre-
ciably. Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more espe- 427
cially first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his land-
lord. In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

797 634 brought them in contact with the Missionaries from time to time, and also into the company of their converted fellow-countrymen. Many of these voyagers visited the chapel at Nukualofa from motives of curiosity, while the Missionaries availed themselves of all opportunities to talk and preach to them about "Christ, and Him crucified." Thus wrote the Rev. N. Turner on October 25th, 1829, from Nukualofa in Tongatabu:—"The chapel was crowded to excess again this morning, and many strangers from Vavau were outside in the yard, having come to see and to hear what this *lotu* (religion) is. In the evening I went out to the sea-side, to the Vavau camp, and preached to the strangers, many of whom listened with profound attention; and, I trust, some of them with real profit." The word *was* as "bread cast upon the waters," and it was "seen after many days." Every *folau*, indeed, carried home to Vavau some additional and startling intelligence to the haughty Ulukalala and his people, of what the new religion was accomplishing in Tonga; but, thwarted as he had been in his desire for an English Missionary, he now resolved that none of his people should be permitted to pray. And thus a fierce struggle began, which, however, proved of but short duration.

As well might Finau have tried to arrest the sun in his daily course through the heavens, as to have stayed the progress of the Gospel, now that its truths were enlightening and agitating the minds of hundreds of his subjects. In vain also did the [793] heathen priests and priestesses fulminate their impotent rage against the God of the foreigners, knowing full well that their entire craft was in danger. Still, the power of the imperious chief-

and, considering the slender advantages he enjoyed, 157
from having only become a Christian in his old age, 159
his general knowledge was extensive. He was endowed 797
with a remarkably clear and quick reasoning
faculty, an excellent memory, a fine chaste diction, [537)
with the most wonderful flow of language; and a mellifluous and powerful delivery. All these qualities were accompanied by a natural impetuosity of manner, and appeal, that made his public ministrations both highly interesting and profitable.

His peculiar gifts of mind, and his extensive acquaintance with native history and customs, qualified him for special usefulness to the Missionaries, both in reducing the language to its present scientific arrangement, and in translating the Bible into the native tongue. During the whole period of our Mission life we had constant intercourse with him; but especially so during a three years' residence in Vavau. All who knew him, will bear us out in saying, that he was one of the choicest of those good and able men, whom God has raised up among the Tonguese themselves, to be the teachers and the messengers of the churches. In his later years, Fifita resided at Hoöfoa, in Tongatabu, where he died, bearing a most happy and triumphant testimony to the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The early religious history of Jone Faubula, who 159
is now regularly employed as a native Minister, 563
affords an example of many similar cases of con- 797
version, in which great sacrifices have been made 793
on the part of the converts, rather than that they should remain in heathenism. He is the son of Tuiniyau, the King of Lakemba, in Fiji. Under the ministrations of Messrs. Cross and Cargill, he

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

159 professed Christianity; and, after a while, was truly
563 converted. His heathen relatives then tried by
797 various means to force from him a recantation
793 of his religion. But, rather than yield before their
persecutions, or to their persuasions, he embraced an opportunity that presented, of making his escape to the Friendly Islands, where he knew he would be permitted to worship God in peace. Although often solicited since then to return to Lakemba, where he would at once be assigned no mean station among the ruling chiefs, he has steadily refused; preferring rather to hold the sacred office of a Minister in the Church of Christ, and to labour for the spiritual benefit of the people amongst whom his early religious impressions were fostered and
159 ripened into maturity. Faubula was a great
797 favourite with us, in all our Missionary boating
expeditions. He was intrepid, skilful, and hearty.
157 He was also possessed of a fund of natural vivacity
563 and wit, which enabled myself and the boatman, who
always accompanied me, to pass pleasantly many an hour upon the sea, under a blazing sun, which otherwise would have been wearisome enough.

797 Vavau contained, when we arrived, nearly three
thousand church members. There were thirty-two
[794] preaching-places, seventeen of which were reached
by water. The others varied in distance, from the Mission station, from two to ten miles. Having no horses, at that time, the labours of the Missionaries were extremely exhausting. The inland journeys were commenced before sunrise, and pursued during the cool of the morning; but, whilst thus avoiding one evil, another was encountered, equally great, if not worse. The roads, in most places,
[491] were no better than footpaths through the long
[132]

174 [784] and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

[783] [764] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

[778] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered [794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 776
22, 23.)

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted 782
chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native
valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints
were offered; and, in great emergencies,
human victims were immolated to propitiate the
angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent;
and their was a certain *faahiga*, or
tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually
selected.

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a 793
numerous and powerful body, in former times, [794]
whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and
substance of the people. The priests took rank
from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the
latter determining, in great measure, the popularity
of the former. The power of the priest, though it
partook more of a religious character, was second
only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were [778]
esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity
with the gods; and these spiritual lords of
the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no
opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the
advance of their selfish interests. Even over the
warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence,
and often made their religious fears and blind
devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In
sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their
favourable consideration was only to be secured by
gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations [754]
to be practised upon enemies, or counter
ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences
from them, could only be obtained at great cost.
Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and 754

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred 643
Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782 793
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 643
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

PRIESTS.

276 The suggestion has been made that priests were free
574 to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a
793 living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano,
643 of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and
his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava* party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 The root is brought and placed before the leader of
574 the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them.
485 He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts
565 it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present,
554 whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the
624 *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion,
[431] prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up
and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the *matapule* the while. When one round has been drunk he orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round the piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*, and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when
574 it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*,
565 give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in
624 the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently
so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or 276
his *matapule,* responds, *Fakafetai, Thanks.* Such a piece of 574
kava is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if 565
there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he 624
will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava,* translated to-day as oath, is said 276
to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over 574
the *kava*-bowl. 578

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the reestablished harmony was the *fua-kava,* said to mean literally first-*kava.* To drink of this *kava,* and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia,* accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua, kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief 173
Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who 778
preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the 793
sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told 276
Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest 574
requested the chief to give him his *kava,* i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni,* That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be 276
made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi 574
chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, 551
and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

BY TE RANGI HIROA.

INTRODUCTORY.

T S 171

THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern, and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places where religious observances were carried out.

T S 171 776

The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and power. Their power was confined to a family group or extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded as something intangible without innate material form.

T S 171 793
T S 171 793 787

The priest was the human medium between the god and the followers of the god. The office was usually hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and observances that placated the god and induced it to use supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure attributed to the god entering his human medium to make known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method of visible manifestation.

T S 171 778 [788]
T S 171 346 788

The official places for making divine contact varied considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For more important deities and occasions, special structures were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Fowl	-	4
Kingfisher	1	2
Heron	2	1
Snipe	1	-
Tern	1	1
Manuali'i	1	1
Kaleva	1	-
Fuia	-	1
Turtle	-	5
Stingray	-	2
Octopus	2	7
Shark	5	-
Eel	1	4
Sea-eel	2	4
Sea-snake	2	-
Mullet	1	5
Vete	1	-
Cockle	-	1
Shell-fish *(fuhu)*	1	-
Sea-urchin	-	1
Land crab	-	1
Lizard	2	3
Centipede	-	2
Butterfly	-	1
	31	64

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776

Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

T
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[793]
[787]

Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

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Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

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(To be continued.)

[pp. 54-84 not processed]

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other 588
charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had [797]
to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the [793]
cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and
Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the
Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682
to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776
the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who
either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods some-
times turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide.
Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and be- 776
fore it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753
a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787
to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793
convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778
neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the
duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces
in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there
has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the
inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstrac-
tions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is
employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is [821]
a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing [832]
this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

was startled to see that he had wings. This last touch is probably 787
due to the influence of the Bible. Like a wise soothsayer this visitant, 776
though so precise with regard to months, allowed himself latitude in
years. In September, 1912, there was a volcanic outburst in Niua [133]
Foou, though not very serious and unattended by loss of life. This
doubtless is a suitable event to carry the responsibility of the doleful
vaticination regarding the month of September.

DIVINATION

The fact that supernatural forces and beings manifest themselves 787
through material agencies would invest with importance the office of 791
those who were skilled in reading the signs. One Tongan stated that
those who had no god to apply to had recourse to a diviner (*tongafiji*),
adding the interesting detail that there was aruspication by examination of the blood of animals. Another said that he thought that each [793]
god had his own diviner, but the most trustworthy statements show
no evidence of a class of diviners attached to the gods apart from the
priests. A certain cowrie shell god used to give indications of his 787
will by movements, as by standing up on end. War clubs, presumably those kept in the temples, were consulted on the expediency of
going to war. If the club shook that was the god giving his vote for
war, but if it remained still that was a declaration against the opening
of hostilities. Whilst, however, the interpretation of the will of the 787
gods was the function of the priests, there were diviners (*tongafiji*) 791
who, without being priests or being attached in any special way to a [793]
particular god, were able to see what was distant in time and space.
The word *kikite* which is used of divination and foretelling seems to
contain the same root as the word *kite* which is used of the appearance of anything at a distance, particularly of land showing up when
one is out at sea. I have not been able to discover that these diviners
were reputed to be inspired by any god, but they seem merely to have
seen and declared things by some inward light of their own. A
rather circumstantial account is preserved of a famous soothsayer
named Hema who knew from the island of Eua the progress of a single-sticks match in Tongatabu in which a local champion was opposed
by a mighty fighter from Eua. Hema kept the Eua people posted

784 the suspects were led into the sea, for the guilty one
would be bitten by sharks under the direction of the
[681] gods.[13] Supernatural sanctions and the rigid system
[671] of taboos, which were early Tongan society's
substitute for a written code of laws, essentially
conditioned behavior through fear and quite
effectively controlled crime within the community
at large.[14]

Certain of the principal gods had wooden houses
778 of worship erected in their honor, usually on sacred
burial grounds. Priests, serving as intermediaries
793 between the gods and the people, would invoke a
787 god and would accept offerings in his behalf. Upon

[p 40-A]

793 invoking the god, a priest *(fa'ahikehe)* would sometimes convulse violently, and then, becoming
787 temporarily inspired and possessed by the god, would prophesy and reveal the wishes of the god. Mariner described typical god-invoking sessions in the early 1800's, as witnessed by him, in the following way:

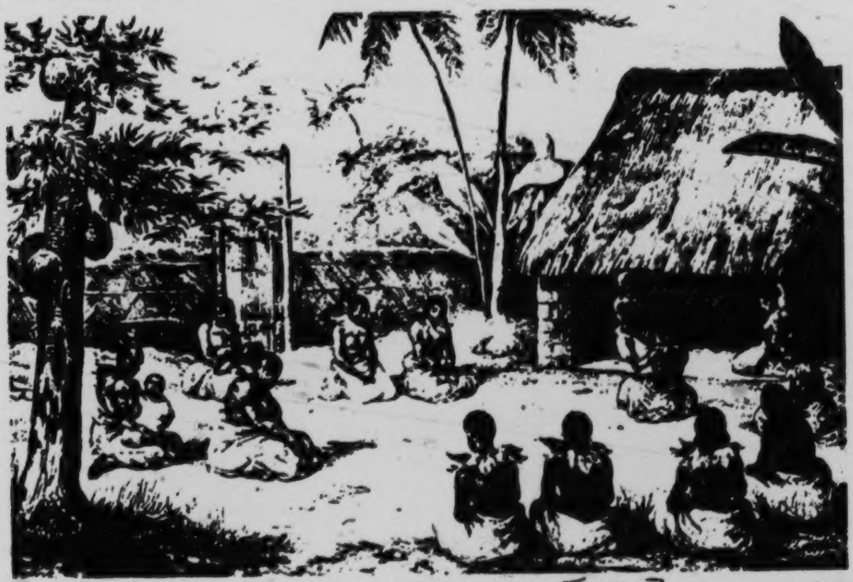
> "He [priest] remains for a considerable time in silence, with his hands clasped before him, his eyes cast down, and motionless . . . All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first person as if he were the god . . . on some

[p. 40-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41A]

793 God consultation was a solemn rite before the coming of Christianity. This engraving (1827)
787 depicts people on Tongatapu gathered in front of the house where a priest is beseeching the gods for mercy in the cure of the sick child at left in the photo.

782 'I he kuonga mu'a, na'e fu'u malohi 'aupito 'a e faito'o fakalotu. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i
755 Tongatapu 'i he 1827 lolotonga ha kole 'a ha fa'ahikehe pe taula'eiki ki he 'otua ke ne tapuaki'i mo fakamo'ui 'a e tamasi'i valevale 'aia 'oku ha mei he tafa'aki to'ohema 'o e ta.



[p. 40-c]

793
787

> occasions his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling. He is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men . . . At length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground . . . Immediately the god leaves him . . ."[15]

If such a prophesy later turned out to be untrue, the

[p.41.A]

793 people, rather than blaming the priest, assumed that
the god had merely changed his mind or had
787 purposely deceived the priest.[16] There were
787 reportedly also times when gods or spirits visited
and inspired persons other than priests.[17]
776 Every family clan in early Tonga was under the
guardianship or protection of a god. At times, a god
613 took possession of an animal or object in order to
825 communicate a message to human beings. Some of
the living representatives used in this way by the
776 gods included the shark, octopus, sea eel, quail,
[262] lizard and flying fox;[18] this explains why certain
[182] species of animals were considered sacred in the past
and thus, were not killed and eaten without a
portion first being offered to the gods.

[p.141-B]

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or ‘heaven’; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of many of the stones, some of which measure over 20 ft. in length.

173 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu‘i Tonga have been preserved, and their history
643 curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians and Merovingians in France. One of the Tu‘i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and his son and successor Kau‘ulufonuafekai, from weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government on his younger brother, reserving to himself the honours and emoluments of the office. His brother assumed the title of Tu‘i Ha‘a Takalaua (‘King of the Takalauans’), and soon got all the power into his hands, the Tu‘i Tonga becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations, however, the Tu‘i Ha‘a Takalaua became effete, and the government was handed over to another branch, called the Tu‘i Kanokubolu (‘King of Kanokubolu,’ the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative, however, of the Tu‘i Tonga holds even now a quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi (vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing, as neither Vesson nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for ‘religion,’ ‘worship,’ ‘prayer,’ etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies ‘a seeking for something that is hard to find.’ Thus when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, *i.e.* go all over the land looking for food. It is also used for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in Tongan that something which might be opened is closed. These and other considerations lead one to think that the Tongan language comes nearer than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few. There was nothing in their religion corresponding to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery— or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such
789 as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we
181 would gladly believe his favourable report of the Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts his statements. He even contradicts himself. The Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually brought in addition, and presented to the god or his priest. One of the party would then state the object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant their request, or use his influence with the gods of

[p. 378-A]

782 Bulotu in their favour. Sometimes the priest would
remain silent; at other times he would object that
782 their gifts were too small. If he spoke at all, he
spoke as the god, being supposed to be 'possessed'
793 by the god at the moment. John Thomas says
(Farmer's *Tonga*, 128): 'Often there was another
[787] person present, the friend of the god, who acted as
mediator, and addressed the priest on behalf of the
offerers.' Hingano, a chief lady of great age,
described to the present writer how she and others
would take baskets of food to the door of Taliai
Tubou's temple in Nuku'alofa, and, bowing down,
would implore the god's favour. Shortly a white
(*sic*) foot would be protruded from beneath a
curtain, which they would kiss and then retire.

782 If their object was to deprecate a calamity, as in
a case of sickness, the rite assumed a darker hue.
Fingers were cut off, wrapped in banana leaves,
and presented; or children were strangled, and
their bodies brought as a sacrifice. When prayers
were offered to Fonokitangata, the sacrifice was
[793] always an adult. Generally a man obnoxious to
the community was hunted down and killed, and
his body brought in a basket and laid before the
priest; but Mariner speaks of a chief of rank
being killed in one instance. The offerers, clothed
782 in old and dirty mats, and wearing necklaces of
793 chestnut leaves, would squat on the ground at a
distance, and weep and beat their breasts, while
the priest, holding in his hand a war club, the
shrine of the god, would listen to their prayers
with his eyes fixed upon the club or upon the
793 ground. Sometimes he would reply in his ordinary
voice, but more often in unnatural tones, as
787 if some one were speaking in him; and frequently
he would begin to shake as if in a fit, and to roll
about and foam at the mouth. Any words he
might utter whilst in this condition were eagerly
caught up as the direct utterances of the god.
After a while the shaking would cease, and the
priest, striking the ground with the club, would
announce that the god had departed. Mariner
(vol. i. p. 160) has a good description of this kind
of possession; and he evidently thought that the
phenomena were not altogether voluntary, but
that a real possession of some kind took place—
a belief which was shared by some of the earlier
missionaries.

775 4. The Tongans believed in the immortality of
779 the soul. Mariner, Veeson, and Thomas are
agreed on this point.

> Veeson says (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 131): 'One day they were conversing about a person that was lately dead, and said, "He goes to the island through the sky." "How can he be," said I, "in that place, when he is dead, and his body here? Did you not bury him some moons ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one took hold of my hand, and, squeezing it, said, "This will die, but the life that is within you will never die"—with his other hand pointing to my heart.'

775 Mariner and Veeson, too, agree in stating that
565 this immortality is enjoyed only by the upper
classes: the souls of the Tu'as, or common people,
779 die with their bodies. This, no doubt, was the
belief of the upper classes, who looked down upon
the Tu'as as little better than animals; but it is
no evidence of the belief of the Tu'as themselves.
Thomas says more truly: 'Of the faith of the
common people there was no certainty.'

775 The 'island' referred to was called Bulotu, and
'through the sky' meant 'over the horizon.'
779 Bulotu is, the present writer thinks, a primitive
Polynesian word, and is the name for Paradise in
all the dialects. It was situated west or north-west
of Tonga, and could be reached by sea. At
least the ballads speak of canoes touching there;
but how the disembodied spirits got there is not
stated. Mariner tells us (vol. ii. p. 101) that
Bulotu was believed by the Tongans to be a
large island, stocked with all kinds of useful and

794 difference to one's behavior as a member of the congrega-
562 tion beyond the fact that it is a valued status that
[796] signifies decency and full adult womanhood. But only men
[574] of lay preacher status--of whom there were 78 out of a
total of 104 adult males in the congregation of the Free
Wesleyan Church in Motulahi in 1970--may preach a sermon,
and generally only a lay preacher may act as host at a
794 congregational feast. Both of these are status-enhancing
554 activities, for the very fact of a public performance of
this sort is implicit affirmation of the person's rectitude.
Indeed, any situation in which a person has been appointed
to act publicly as a special member of the congregation
is status-enhancing. (Admittedly, some situations or
occasions are more prestigious than others; thus, to
deliver the sermon or host the feast on Christmas Day is
more status-enhancing than to do so the Sunday before
Christmas, and to be steward of the congregation is more
prestigious than to be choirmaster or teach Sunday School.)
[574] [796] One of the indicators of whether a person is highly
regarded beyond his own village is whether he has been
asked to preach a sermon beyond the boundaries of his
home congregation.

● 793 The minister of the congregation, generally a full-
794 time pastor appointed to the congregation by the national
governing body of the church, decides who will be asked

793 to prepare the sermon. He makes this determination in
794 consultation with the steward of the congregation, who is a member of the congregation elected to the position of steward on an annual basis by his fellow lay preachers in the congregation. The steward also makes up the annual roster of Sabbath and holy-day feast givers. He usually does this by himself, for a minister may know of the frequency and intensity of a person's participation in church services and other denominational activities--factors that are crucial in determining the roster of preachers, but is usually insufficiently acquainted with the members of the congregation to know their status in the village and what resources they can muster--factors that must be taken into account in determining the roster of feast-givers. (This is particularly true of the Free Wesleyan minister of Motulahi, who is resident in the neighboring village of Nukutau, but it is generally true in most Wesleyan congregations since one of the principles of Wesleyan organization is that ministers do not serve for more than a few years with any one congregation.)

794 The matching-up of feast-giver and preacher is one of the
574 more obvious areas in which the steward's social skill is crucial, for the preacher of the sermon that day is a guest of honor at the feast. In making up these rosters, therefore, the steward acts as monitor and arbiter of the

denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public 776
places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and
their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far 778
exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be
no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pro- 346
nounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began 793
the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were
no other than priests and at that time absolutely prefering some
petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief 776
in the plurality of deitys, though all inferior to this one, amongst
whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo[1] god of the clouds and fogg, [821]
Talle te'boo[2] and some others residents of the heavens. The first in
rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its produc- [823]
tions, is call'd Footo'fooa[3] who they say is a male and has for wife
Fykava ka'jeea,[4] and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones
as Va'hàá-fonooa;[5] Tareeava;[6] Matta'ba-E'varoo[7] &c. The same re- [184]
ligious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles;
for the supreme god of Hapaee for instance is call'd Alo Alo,[8] and [775]
other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of
the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond
erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no
farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and 774
immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what
is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,[9] divinity or in- 775
visible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs
seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,[10] the 776
chief or god of which is Gooleho.[11] This Gooleho seems synonymous [774]
with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us)
say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign
that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward 775
beyond Feejee* (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant
land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

* This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe. [823]

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[1] Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i fooa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld. [775]

[2] Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war. [649]

[3] This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

[4] Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

[5] Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua. [6] Taliafa ? [7] Matapa'i-valu ?

[8] Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka. [821]

[9] *'Otua.* [10] Pulotu. [11] Hikuleo. [824] [778]

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

175
581 & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced
837 that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps
152 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.
609

437 *Religion.* The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-
175 deavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe
[775] they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,
175 that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with
776 diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation
[793] of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we
heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They
[184] believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & difft Islands have different
religions.[1]

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of
772 a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the
[776] God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well
as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlastg place to be on this Globe,
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the
Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Captn Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

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[1] Different gods, rather.

[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.

[3] Hikuleo.

643 of aboriginal Tongan culture and a leader needed the support of the
175 people around him. Such support came from numerous plural marriages
571 and successful leadership. Laufilitonga, the last individual to hold the title of *Tu'i Tonga*, was delayed in being appointed to his position in the early
643 part of the nineteenth century because of the inability of a secular ruler to support him. Thomas wrote of the *hau* as King, that:

> It is said had the King's party been succesful in the war in the Anga, it was the intention of the King to have presented his daughter Halaevalu to Laufilitonga as his wife, and to have appointed him to office as Tuitonga but though a battle was fought and many fell on both sides — no victory was gained — The evils they had hoped to have removed were allowed to remain — as the King could not remove them — his daughter was therefore not so given — neither was the chief appointed to office, but remained at Vavau where he had been brought up (Thomas MS. 4:192).

643 After the separation of sacred from secular matters in aboriginal Tonga,
554 the *Tu'i Tonga* was still esteemed and revered but more as an intercessor with the Tongan deities. Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga:*

> [793] The office of the Tuitonga was still esteemed, and became one of vast importance, even as the connective link between the gods and the people; he was not a high priest but a friend, or representative of the gods, his office as with his person was considered sacred (Thomas MS. 5:1).

Other eye-witnesses of the early nineteenth century corroborated this, as the Wesleyan missionary N. Turner relates:

> Many were present at the service this afternoon and were very attentive. The Tui Toga was there, who is by birth and rank according to their former superstitions the greatest Man in all these islands. Tho the nature of his office forbids him to have anything to do with public affairs. According to the ancient customs of Toga he is altogether a sacred person (N. Turner, Letter-Journal dated November 29, 1828, reporting events of October 28, 1828).

178
643 Eventually, however, as a result of Western contact (specifically the
177 Wesleyan missionaries in the nineteenth century) the position of the *Tu'i Tonga* was totally eclipsed by that of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Laufili-
643 tonga, the last *Tu'i Tonga*, had eventually been installed in his office in 1827 and held the title until his death in 1865. Although he requested that a *Tu'i Tonga* be appointed after his death, no such appointment was made by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou. As a point of fact, at a Tongan parliamentary meeting in 1875 King George Tupou stated:

Religion and Society

795 Western religion was established in Tonga by missionaries of the
[797] Wesleyan Methodist Church in the 19th Century and today most Tongans
are members of churches having origins in the Wesleyan sect. The Free
Wesleyan, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga all had their
beginnings in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Table 4 gives the member-
795 ship by denomination of Tongans in 1966.[A] Although Tonga has been a
797 Christian nation for over a century, proselytizers from various denomi-
nations still find it fertile ground for the winning of new converts.
Fortunately, Tongans find it relatively easy to alter their denomina-
tional preference (See also Beaglehole 1941: 127-130).

795
554 Christianity and the social life of Tonga are inextricably wound together in such a way that position in the church is highly associated with social position. A Togan expressed some of the relationship between Church and society in the passages below:

[793]

[643]

> In the bigger churches the average number of local preachers is about twenty, and in the smaller ones it could be ten in each church. The position of local preacher in Tonga has bycome a symbol of good christian in the church, and also bycomes a social status in the society and it seems that every layman wanted to be a local preacher...The King is almost a god to so many people. I often hear some of our leading ministers use phrases like these, 'the church of Tupou', "the land of Tupou", 'the ministry of Tupou' (instead of the Gospel). I know a group of evangelists when they went out to conduct a mission in some of the villages, they said, "We come in the name of Tupou". These sorts of nonsense is not a teaching of the King or the Nobles directly, there is no need for them to say that, because it is already deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the Tongans, on the other hand they don't stop them because it makes them feel more comfortable (Anonymous 1970).

[A] [See p. 23--Analyst]

794 183 garded highly by others, and even whether or not he is regarded as a
554 good marriage prospect.

794 Because of the importance of the Church in Tongan villages and in
554 the larger society, most men try to achieve position within it. In
[793] Puke there is no ordained minister but fourteen of the village men are
[875] lay preachers (tangata malanga); one of these lay ministers acts as
[565] Sunday school teacher. The recognized head of the village church is
the noble, who is also one of the lay preachers.

The church reflects several important aspects of village life and the seating arrangement as shown in Figure 1[A] illustrates several principles of Tongan behavior. Village leaders are seated close to the pulpit, the noble is seated so that he is above and separated from the rest of the congregation, and the age and sex divisions are also apparent.

794 There are several indications of the importance of the church in
793 the community. The congregation of the Puke church attempts to have an
554 574 ordained minister come and deliver a sermon at least once a month. On
such an occasion the visiting minister receives treatment appropriate
[276] to a noble. Kava is prepared for him prior to the church service and
a feast contributed to by most members of the community is held after the service. His advice and comments on church affairs, politics, technology, and any other subject are closely attended and almost always accepted as the best available.

794 Another indication of the importance of the church is its schedule of activities and the fact that all activities are well attended. Below I have presented the usual weekly church schedule, which does not include

[A] [See p. 34--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

127
651 The period of the 'inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643]
[437] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.

127 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800
175 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:

> 776 Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to
> 651 think their prejudices are strong. Every district
> has its own deity; and each family of note has one,
> 796 whom they consider as their own particular patron.
> 565 The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual
> 782 exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of futtafai[illegible]; and the other when they gather them in, express[illegible] of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'inasi 'ufimui and 'inasi
[796] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
[651] ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify
the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the
hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
651 whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185), though they could
643 depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée)*.

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possesed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
[782] on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
[787] occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
[784] chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
● 793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were 776 no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to [823] carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was [821] believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The [643] Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered [651] to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their 775 dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o [565] resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and [825] were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied [778] in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or 793 before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings 787 to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied 782 he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

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[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

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> January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . .. At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
731 spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[779] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Using their personal power the chiefs would seize anything that 565 might arrest their fancy. Referring to this situation Vason recalled: 421

> They [the chiefs] exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have everything belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence . . . . (Orange 1840:124)

More seriously, traditions were questioned, and the validity and 771 effectiveness of the traditional religion were doubted by some. This was inevitable for usually a religion is required by people to explain how the universe works. The impact of the growing 771 contact with Fiji, and with the Europeans—explorers, traders, whalers, beachcombers and L.M.S. missionaries—in particular, 177 shook the foundations of the traditional cosmology. Many of the leading Tongans, therefore, were anxious to acquire a new cosmology to explain the new circumstances with which they were now confronted.

When the Tu'i Tonga ventured to advise Fīnau 'Ulukālala II 634 on some matters of warfare, the latter replied, 'My Lord Tooitonga [643] may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which he has no right to interfere' (Martin 1827, II:126). He also [651] terminated the traditional ceremony of *'inasi* at Ha'apai and Vava'u because he regarded it as useless and wasteful, and he thus deprived the Tu'i Tonga of the most important religious ceremony offered to him, as being representative of the deity Hikule'o. After Fīnau's death in 1809, it was revealed that he [793] had planned to have the priest of the god Tupou Toutai strangled, because he had failed to secure the help of the gods in saving the life of his daughter who died from illness shortly before his own death (Martin 1827, I:307).

This was the situation into which the Wesleyan missionaries 797 came. It was a period of political instability with several un- 669 successful attempts to gain absolute power over the whole of Tonga, which were vigorously resisted, particularly on Tongatapu

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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797 The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done, for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious
793 to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with con-
[776] siderable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs,
[789] it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse *(talatuki)* was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted
[787] as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural dis-
[465] aster, voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of
797 Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of
793 priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

> The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

797 After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess,
told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had
793 told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined
787 the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had
lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm
one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his 797
faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens, in reference to
making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter 793
into his own hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought 787
and storms . . . ' (Watkin, Journal, 21 Dec. 1826).

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the 797
priests was not in any way comparable with that offered by the
chiefs. The honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in 793
the old order were nothing compared with those which the chiefs,
for instance, had enjoyed. But the fact that they threw their weight 565
behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

It was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching 797
influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism, and, because they had traditionally held all power in their 565
hands, their opposition was formidable and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God, their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status, privileges and authority. Since almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilisation and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs, it was inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries over the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have 797
lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards. For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to
the Tongans themselves. An example may be seen in the perpetual 764
conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question 565
of *tukuofo*. This custom was performed at the funeral of any 431
[797]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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764 member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under
the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in par-
565 ticular, would bring gifts of *ngatu* (tapa cloth), mats of various
431 kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided an opportunity for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted. They also appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered
764 the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The
missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate,
565 these implications. The fact that some of the *ngatu* and mats were
431 used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food pre-
797 sented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the
missionaries to view the *tukuofo*, rather mistakenly, as an offering
to the dead.

Tukuofo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the *tukuofo*—quite put down—' wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up' (Thomas, Journal, 24 Dec. 1826). It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the *tukuofo*. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

797 Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries
565 was the chiefs' jealousy towards the rival for their authority.
571 The priests of the old order exercised power over the people
only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part
● [792] they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the
[787]

of one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole 797
man, and over the whole frame of society.'

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic and 182
political institutions had been closely integrated with the traditional
religious system. When the influential chiefs and their people 797
accepted Christianity, the equilibrium of the old social system
was undermined and changes and adjustments became inevitable. 177
A deliberate effort was made to reconstruct Tongan society upon 797
the new Christian beliefs and values. It was to be based only upon
those old customs and traditions which the missionaries and their 177
chiefly converts thought suitable for the new design, and it was 185
to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too 797
formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss as
to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three 185
decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the 565
missionaries. These converted chiefs were already the political [622]
leaders of their various *kāinga,* and their continued reliance on
the missionaries ensured that the missionaries had almost as much
to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between 797
the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was
therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished 185
to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early 565
as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters (N. 177
Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833). [793]

The result was a fusion of church and state matters. Residences
for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and 659
maintained by the people, often not on their own initiative, but 797
rather 'in obedience to the command (*fekau*) of the King. Their
conversion was a "mea Fakafetogia"—(a matter imposed upon
them by the government)' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856,
WMMSA 1852-79; item 170). Peter Turner (Journal, 24 May
1841) wrote, 'I must say that the people have done much for us
since we came. They have thatched our house—and the house of
Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro'
Wilson and a house for an academy.'

The fusion of church and state matters caused some confusion [643]

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaunanga)* of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods [643]
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants [644]
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods [787]
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.(10)

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as [171]
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 847 188
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 888
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 858
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 266

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship 796
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., 794
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service.
Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours' [793]
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard [794]
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [877]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers 797
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 872
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, [302]
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been
sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"! Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few years.

Footnotes:

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(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West, ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1888-1890]

In Brown's report after his first visit, he declared that, if union could be effected, 795 797

(1) Mr. Watkin and his ministers should be "recognized as fully accredited ministers in our Church." (p. 1.) (9)

(2) Moulton's removal had been justified and, if it had taken place years before, the Wesleyans would have been in a different position. Though they admired Moulton greatly for his work,

> "they all know that he was personally obnoxious to the Government and that their own sufferings and disabilities were increased by that fact." (p.11.)

(3) "There is no real desire for union on the part of Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin. . . . They simply wish to absorb our people and have no wish for anything else." (p. 12.)

(4) The Free Church ministers were opposed to union because they feared loss of their positions and higher salaries. [793]

(5) The Wesleyans felt that they had suffered so cruelly that they could not, for some time at least, agree to unite. [798]

In Brown's subsequent visits (14 May to 15 October 1889, 21 March to 26 April 1890, 12 September to 12 November 1890), his hopes of a response from the Premier were completely dissipated. (He had been deported on 17 July 1890, before Brown's fourth visit.) During the second and third visits, the correspondence between the two men, concerning the continued disabilities of the Wesleyans, became almost as acrimonious as letters between Moulton and Baker had been. When Brown pointed out the difficulties arising from the proximity of new Free Church buildings to the Wesleyan, Baker, on 2 July 1889, wrote:

> "I had not thought they would create any difficulty in the future as I was in hope that at the next General Conference the two Churches would be united, a hope which your late visit to the colonies has destroyed." (10)

This remark showed Baker's resentment of the publicity given to Wesleyans' sufferings in Brown's addresses to congregations in Australia, after his first residence in Tonga. His assumed hope of reunion at the next General Conference was totally inconsistent with his actions.

So grave was the non-fulfilment of the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 that the next General Conference, in May 1890, in Sydney, resolved 795 797

> "earnestly to solicit through Sir John Thurston, High Commissioner, the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to secure the fulfilment of the promises made by His Majesty the King of Tonga to the late High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, more especially the proclamation of freedom of worship, the removal of existing disabilities, and the return of the Tongan exiles in Fiji and Tofua to their own land." (11) 648

This resolution was carried by 94 votes to five.(12)

Brown had gone to Tonga as a reconciler. He had accepted conditions patiently until it was clear that, as he said, 795 797

> "Mr. Baker had shown most plainly that he and those associated with him would be satisfied with nothing less than the abandonment of our people and the withdrawal of our Church from Tonga, and that for the accomplishment of this purpose a system of intimidation and coercion was being carried on." (13)

The opinion of the veteran, John Watsford, formerly of Fiji, who had visited Tonga in the General Conference deputation of 1885 and had recommended

[1901-1924]

in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave 795
him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; 563
ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried [576]
the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.(47) [643] [644]

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the 795
Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger 797
Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever.

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. 795
Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and 797
ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. 794
The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the [872]
College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre [873]
allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European [793]
female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to [658]
the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and [659]
maintain its handsome churches.

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in 795
Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued,

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1924]

> Church, and also from the legal advice I have received; and therefore I am pleased to 795
> inform you that I shall attend this morning that we may meet in the Conference." (10) 797

In her address she reminded him of his letter of 11 February offering to resign, 643
an offer he had made known to the people. She outlined his breaches of the agreements he had given at the Joint Committee of 20-21 February, and his efforts to persuade ministers to withdraw their consent to union. She also gave a brief review of the lack of control in the Church and its maladministration in recent years. She reminded Mr. Watkin of her letters of 9 and 16 April, and added,

> "I have done my utmost to make things easy for you. . . . You have broken the appointment, together with some clauses of the Constitution. Therefore I declare that the appointment no longer holds and is annulled from the time at which you receive this letter and it shall be as if it never was." (11)

After Mr. Watkin had read the letter he said he would go home, and he walked out of Conference.

In the ballot which followed, Conference elected Setaleki Manu as President 795
and Kisi Taulani as Secretary. On the next day, 23 April, the roll-call of 797
ministers showed that some who supported Mr. Watkin had left the Conference. The Minutes that day recorded, in answer to the question, "Who become Supernumeraries?" "Mr. Watkin", with the compassionate addendum, "because of age". The Minutes also declared that, as far as the ministers from Ha'apai were
concerned, "All of them have sailed for Ha'apai". That district became a strong [578]
centre of opposition to union. Altogether, seventeen ministers were informed of [793]
their dismissal because of their absence from Conference sessions.

Conference also called upon Mr. Watkin to attend and to answer charges of maladministration. This showed a new and unnecessary harshness. Nothing followed this demand but sympathy was beginning to appear for an aged minister who, it was said, had been summarily and unwarrantably dismissed by the Queen; Mr. Watkin's broken promises and obstructions were not known to many who rallied to his side. Conference, however, erred in this harsh resolution against the old President.

On the same day, 23 April, Mr. Watkin sent a letter to the Queen:

> "I will not relinquish this appointment, and if any strong measures are taken against me, I shall appeal to the British Consul for protection." (12)

His son-in-law, Mr. J. W. Masterton, was Acting Consul at the time, during the absence of Mr. Islay McOwan on furlough. At no time was there any evidence of "strong measures" against Mr. Watkin.

Conference, through the Secretary, Kisi Taulani, wrote to Mr. Watkin —

> "Conference has decided that Mr. Watkin has vacated his position and Setaleki Manu has been elected President. Setaleki and the ministers and representatives send their respects to you and trust you will be agreeable to the resolutions of the Conference and deliver the office and the key of the safe." (13)

This was the action of ministers and laymen who had never before given anything but unquestioning obedience to Mr. Watkin's decisions. He refused to deliver the keys.

Mr. Watkin wrote to Mr. Masterton (on 23 April) —

> "I have received a letter from the Conference with a demand that I must give up all belongings to the Church without delay. So I request your advice and protection as British Consul — as I am a British subject. Yours respectfully, J. B. Watkin." (14)

There is no indication of any action taken in response to this letter.

[1924]

On 28 April Conference agreed to the Constitution of 8 August 1885, and 795
voted in favour of union and of affiliation with the General Conference. The total 797
number of ministers dismissed was now 25, most of them for leaving the 793
Conference. Two were dismissed for misappropriating money in their circuits. Twelve new ministers were appointed, and all probationers were raised to full status. None of these had received any theological training; and such an accession of numerical strength blocked the path of any new candidates for the ministry for several years.

On 7 May the Wesleyan Synod (District Meeting) agreed to enter into union. 795
This meant the legal extinction of the Wesleyan Church and the absorption of its 797
members and property by the Free Wesleyan Church. A few Wesleyans were reluctant to unite; some older members found it hard to forget the days of persecution, and others were proud of their training and experience (the elitism which had proved a rock of offence in the earlier years of Tupou College). Page effectively used his persuasive powers and unanimity was reached.

During these confusing days an official authorization came from Australia, over the signature of Dr. Sugden, President-General:

> "I hereby agree to, and authorize, the union of the Methodist Church in Tonga and the Free Church of Tonga and to the Constitution of the United Church in Tonga as a separate Annual Conference, associated with and a part of the Methodist Church of Australasia."

These phrases, which seemed natural to Church leaders in Australia, gave concern to the advocates of reunion in Tonga where the nature of the link with Australia was a matter of contention and called for careful explanation. Dr. Sugden added,

> "For the present, the Constitution of the Annual Conference of Tonga shall be upon the basis arrived at by the Joint Committee in Tonga, provided that the Constitution shall be subject to such readjustments by the General Conference as may be necessary to bring it into harmony with the Constitution, Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, all such readjustments to have been previously submitted to the Annual Conference in Tonga." (15)

When Page received this formidable authorization, he perceived the dangers. He cabled to Dr. Sugden:

> "Litigation pending. Will you assure that adjustments Tonga Constitution as stated in authorization to harmonize with Methodist law must not only be submitted to but approved by the Tonga Conference. Also General Conference will not pass laws affecting Tonga to which the Tonga Conference does not consent."

The reply stating that Tonga would have the full powers of an Annual Conference was too general to be helpful in the court actions that ensued. A strict legalism in the minds of J. G. Wheen and other leaders hindered their imagination; clearly they should have agreed to accept whatever the united church in Tonga decided. Their rigidity was the more regrettable because, actually, the General Conference, neither then nor since, has ever passed any resolution or made any law contrary to the will of the Tonga Conference. Every law and every amendment to its Constitution, passed by the Tonga Conference, has been accepted by General Conference without question since the day when reunion was effected in Tonga fifty years ago.

The united Conference met on 21 May. The Queen was in attendance, 795
together with Setaleki Manu, Kisi Taulani, seventeen other ministers, and 15 lay representatives. The Wesleyans entered the Conference that day — Page and three other European ministers, 14 Tongan ministers and 10 lay representatives. These

[1924]

ten included the nobles, Tungi, Ata, Tupouto'a, and 'Ahome'e. On the Free 795
Church side, Finau 'Ulukalala, Speaker of Parliament, attended Conference for [578]
part of the first two days and contributed to the discussions before leaving and
becoming chairman of the executive committee of the dissidents. He was the only [565]
noble out of 33 who did not support the Queen.

The first business of the united Conference was the acceptance of the pivotal
document, the Constitution of 8 August 1885, with an historical introduction
reviewing the work of John Wesley in England, the coming of John Thomas, the
work of the early missionaries, the establishment of the Free Wesleyan Church
by Tupou I, and the present absorption of the Wesleyan Church in the Free
Wesleyan Church. This historical statement was signed by the Queen, Setaleki
Manu, Kisi Taulani, and Tungi. The names of the sixteen Major Trustees of the
Church property according to the Constitution still included that of Finau
'Ulukalala. An interesting innovation in the full Constitution now adopted was 795
the provision that, if a European minister was found by the Tonga Conference 793
to be guilty of any offence, he could appeal to the General Conference, but, if he
was acquitted there, Tonga could, nevertheless, ask for his removal and would
trust General Conference to accede to such a request. This was an echo of the
deplorable charges and counter-charges in the sad days of Baker and Moulton
and it sought to prevent any repetition. This document, signed on 30 May, was 795
afterwards published throughout Tonga. It is still the Constitution of the Church
and is a reminder of the labours of the Queen, Tungi, and Page.

For many weeks, indeed for some months, the excitement in Tonga was
intense. A report sent to the Press in Sydney and Auckland stated that there was
physical violence; "Tonga on the verge of civil war" was one newspaper heading.
This was an absurd exaggeration of the only incident of violence which occurred [579]
in Vava'u where one man was hurt in a fracas. In natural agitation J. G. Wheen
cabled to Page for information; Page replied, "Whole report tissue lies, everything
peaceful". Notwithstanding this, the leaders of the union cause were shocked at 578
the widening division that followed Mr. Watkin's repudiation of his agreement to 795
unite.

A petition, signed by over 2,000, was sent to the High Commissioner in Fiji through the Acting Consul, Mr. Masterton, Watkin's son-in-law. An Auckland lawyer, Mr. Moody, was engaged for this party and he landed on 8 May. By the same steamer the pro-union party brought Mr. Crompton, K.C., from Fiji. Mr. H. C. Stronge, Chief Justice, returned from leave at the same time, and so did the Consul, Mr. Islay McOwan. Before Mr. Stronge's return, Mr. George Scott, Land Court Judge and Acting Chief Justice, wrote to Page stating that Watkin and 27 ministers had complained to him about church buildings not being available for their use. On the return of the Chief Justice, an interim order was made giving Mr. Watkin's party joint use of the buildings with the pro-union party, pending litigation. This interim order was interpreted by Mr. Watkin's followers as a victory.

During the reunion negotiations and the litigation there was much criticism 795
of the union movement from some European residents. Some of them had benefited 563
from the unsupervised trading activities of the old Free Church and they realized
that conditions so favourable to them would cease in a well-ordered united Church.
Page, once very popular with the Europeans, fell unjustly under criticism.
Nevertheless, he persevered, respected by those Tongans and Europeans who knew 795

[1925- 1926]

Furthermore, the old rivalry between the Government College (the stronghold of the Free Church throughout 795
its history) and Tupou College had much to do with the divided Church. Then, 578]
too, the Free Church ministers who refused to unite wanted to keep their positions [173]
and privileges, and this feeling became stronger as years went by. [793]

It said volumes for the Queen's restraint and fairness that, although she 795
must have been grieved by the non-fulfilment of her desires, this did not affect 578
her outwardly. She continued to show the same regard for those who opposed 643
her wishes as for those who had followed her in the united Church.

The 1925 Conference elected Page President, a position to which he was 795 re-elected every year afterwards without question. The Secretary of Conference in 1925 was John Havea, senior tutor at Tupou College, and a conspicuous example of the reconciling spirit that had brought the Wesleyans into union; he was re-elected to that position until his death in March 1942.

When forwarding a copy of the Constitution of the Church to the President- 795
General on 18 February 1925, Page referred to the 643

> "mode of election of the President of the Tongan Conference. It will be seen that provision has been made for the exercise of the royal prerogative. While this is a departure from Methodist custom we feel that it is a necessary safeguard, the value of which can be appreciated only by those with a knowledge of existing circumstances in Tonga." (1)

Page was sincere in this belief and he could give reasons for "the royal prerogative" in the early days of union. Since then it has been difficult to see justification for a departure from the theological principle of "the Crown Rights of the Redeemer" in the Church.

Page's fear of another development which did not materialize appeared in his 795 letter to the ex-President-General, Dr. A. McCallum (29 June 1925):

> "The non-unionists still continue their existence as a Church. After Mr. Watkin's death, they appointed an Anglican lay reader to the position of President. This man had been sent here by the Bishop of Polynesia to open a school for European children. . . . I admit that I have always been a little sceptical about the reason stated for his coming, due to a remark made by an Anglican archdeacon while on a visit to Tonga. This archdeacon stated that it was very evident that the Free Church would go to pieces on Mr. Watkin's death and that it was advisable for them to be established in time and that he would bring the matter before the Bishop while in Suva. . . . There is an effort being made to induce these non-unionists to join the Anglican Church." (2)

The Free Church followers who opposed union did not long continue as one body. Within two years there was a further division. One section, with its strength mainly in Ha'apai, separated and called itself simply "The Church of Tonga"; it was often called "The Church of the Chiefs" because its leader was Finau 'Ulukalala. The other section, the larger of the two, kept the name, "Free Church of Tonga". Both of these have had Tongan Presidents ever since they separated.

The General Conference of 1926, held in Brisbane, was not attended by any representative from Tonga, but the constitution of the Free Wesleyan Church was approved without any amendment.

The year 1926 was marked by the observance of the Centenary. The coming 797 of John Thomas in 1826 was taken officially as the beginning of the evangelization of Tonga. In this there was no reflection upon the work of the London Missionary Society, nor upon Walter Lawry in 1822-3, but rather a recognition of the continuous work begun by John Thomas whose name had become a legend among the Tongans. Visitors from Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji, including J. G.

[1927- 1934]

Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, 795
under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. 873
The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest 872
school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from 658
any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to
the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller
Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 873
Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the 484
present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December
1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, 658
recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future
teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical
education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions,
with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College
lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and 795
following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely [435]
limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money
could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily 795
took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did 465
even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A [793]
widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote [563]
College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a [875]
considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided [797]
to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church,
but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the
indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding
Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who
bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 795
pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries 872
very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and 877
over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had 651
always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting
of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because 793
of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were 879
accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number
and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to
gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

• • • •

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through 795
the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the
early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question 291
of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years. 793

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free 241 Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan 793 preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been 795 baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit 848 sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely [162] because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, 764 irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 533

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct 795 of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received 795 kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was 796 to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's [516] translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir 795 competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 796 1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the 533 finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number 795 from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland 644 for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in [764] the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 161
1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated 162
in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten [674]
years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and [464]
industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land 162
in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences 423
of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May [797]
1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown 167
considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the 184
large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural 464
gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given 457
limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this 177
are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious 795
well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on
the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. 795
In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. 162
The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman
Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh
Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its 795
ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers 793
with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne
College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor
of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological
education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many
Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization 795
and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands [449]
Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional [212]
Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English
and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and [771]
community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been 873
postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and [643
the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at 765
Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of 533]
Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village
choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio
was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry 874
at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and [797]
a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported
by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late
Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of
'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to
emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The 873
value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was
seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne
University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the 795
fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being 873
educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only
10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had
2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29
primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the
Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years
and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness 795
with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide
influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new
translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell [779]
Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the
Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August
1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament
also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according
to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was
commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the [796
relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free
Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first 793]
Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches,
established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches),
consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the
Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become
members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and 793
teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the 797
appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

Arthur M. Sanders, an Englishman, hearty and dependable, served for 793
thirteen years at Vava'u. A forceful preacher, he possessed a magnificent speaking 797
and singing voice.

Charles Moore, another Englishman, gave eight unbroken years most conscientiously to an appreciative people in Ha'apai and Vava'u.

George Harris, M.A., 1926-34, returned in 1961 and finished his ministry as President of the Tonga Conference until his retirement in 1969. His faithful leadership was of outstanding quality.

Cecil F. Gribble, M.A., Dip.Ed., was Principal of Tupou College for three [873]
years and was then asked by the Government to become Director of Education; he
placed teacher-training in all schools on a new basis before returning to Australia [871]
where he became General Secretary for Overseas Missions.

Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D., succeeded Mr. Page as President of Conference in 1947. In a total term of sixteen years he proved an efficient and careful administrator.

Kenneth Grove, B.A., served in Vava'u for eleven years, dying very shortly after leaving Tonga in 1958.

Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed., was fourteen years in Tonga at Tupou College and the Theological College. His outstanding successes in preparing students for the L.Th. examination at Sia'atoutai have been mentioned.

Howard W. Secomb, B.A., Dip.Ed., served for fourteen years, including twelve as Principal of Tupou College, Toloa, in a period of expansion; he was supported by his wife, born in a missionary family in Tonga; her knowledge of Tongan life and understanding of the people provided a liaison between the missionaries and the Tongans not often found in mission situations.

Eben E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.; John Sutton, B.A.; H. Paul K. Trigge, B.Sc., B.D.; Justin J. Gooderham, B.A., and H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A., were among the many ministers conspicuous in educational work in recent years; Mr. Cummins achieved many matriculation successes in Tonga at the newly-formed Tupou High School.

Mrs. M. E. Thompson for 22 years toiled faithfully at Queen Salote College and Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u.

Miss D. Rowlands, B.A., had the record of 25 years as Principal of Queen
Salote College. She was responsible for developments which made her school not [873]
only the largest but the most influential girls' school in Tonga.

[1902 - 1967]

in the advice she gave each year regarding the appointments of ministers. This, 643
strictly speaking, was quite an irregular procedure but Page and his successors 795
in the presidential office knew that every minister accepted unquestioningly what
he understood had been decided upon her advice. She took a deep interest in the
Women's World Day of Prayer. In the last year of her life (1965) she selected
Scripture readings and wrote the prayers used by women throughout the world
in February 1966.

The Queen was honoured by Britain on several occasions. She was the first 643
D.B.E. in the Pacific (1932), Dame Grand Cross (G.B.E.) in 1945, G.C.V.O. in 648
1953, and, just before her death, G.C.M.G., the only woman in the world with
this last-mentioned distinction.

In January 1965 she visited Auckland for medical treatment. An exploratory 643
operation revealed the secondary growth of cancer. She returned to Tonga in 164
May, and for the remaining months was under drugs and often in considerable
pain.

When the ashes of her old friend, Rodger Page, were brought from Sydney, 643
she was driven slowly around the cemetery. Especially as she was then in the last 793
stages of her illness, this action impressed the great crowd at the cemetery as a 795
signal mark of respect. She also directed that the word for "burial" on Page's stone [764
should be *telio*, the word reserved for royalty, an unprecedented evidence of 577]
esteem.

On 31 October, four days before returning to a hospital in Auckland, the 643
Queen received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from her chaplain, the Rev. 763
George Harris, and other ministers. She then gave a testimony, indicating her
resignation to whatever might happen to her, adding that she had professed her
faith in Christ when she was young and had adhered to it ever since, so that no
hurried final spiritual preparations were needed. Treatment in Auckland proved
of no avail. She passed away on 16 December.

The funeral took place on 23 December at Nuku'alofa before an assemblage 643
estimated at 50,000. The king and queen with the royal family, the Governor- 764
General of New Zealand, the Governor of Fiji, the Head of State in Western
Samoa, and many other visiting leaders followed the bier on foot. In the still air
the singing of the hymns the late Queen had chosen was deeply moving. Mourned
with profound sincerity, she is still, years after her death, called by her people
"Our Beloved Queen".

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned on his 50th birthday, 4 July 1967, 643
by his chaplain, George Harris, supported by Cecil Gribble, then President-General,
who visited Tonga for the occasion. The king's brother, John Tu'ipelehake, [644
succeeded the king as Premier. Both the king and his brother are local preachers 645
in the Church and staunch supporters of all moral and religious movements in 793]
Tonga.

The ministers upon whom the integrity and development of the Church 793
depend have included some of conspicuous devotion. Such a stalwart was Paul 795
Fukofuka, one of those who refused many times to forsake the Wesleyan ministry
for a higher stipend in the Free Church; he died in 1918, a veteran who had been
born in pre-Christian days and who remembered John Thomas. Another, of
similar fidelity and ability, was John Taufa, an inspiring preacher, who died in
1941. John Havea was senior tutor at Tupou College, 1902-9 and 1912-42. He

89: Wood M,Y-4.,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1891-1960]

assisted Dr. Moulton in translation work in 1904 in Sydney and was ordained 793
that year by the New South Wales Conference. Later, he collaborated with Dr. 795
Collocott in writing *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* and other contributions to [113]
anthropological research. He had a most beneficial influence on the hundreds of
students who passed under his care; among these were Prince Tungi, and his sons, [815]
the present king and the premier. And what more shall be said of William Tupou,
Methuselah Talakai, Charles Napa'a, and many other heroic souls who moulded
and guided the Church during difficult days?

Sau Faupula, L.Th., by general consent, was the outstanding minister of his generation. Those qualified to evaluate his work have considered that no Pacific Islands minister surpassed him in dedication and in qualities of leadership. His great-grandfather, John Faupula, was the first convert in Fiji, who would have succeeded to the chieftainship in the Lau group but was forced to flee to Tonga. His son Kebuel and his grandson Robert, Sau's father, were ministers. Sau's son, [797] Harold, is a missionary in Arnhem Land, North Australia.

Sau entered Tupou College, Nafualu, in 1925, eventually becoming dux and a teacher there in 1929. With his full teaching programme and his gardening tasks he still studied for the L.Th. and, in November 1933, completed the course, including New Testament Greek and the Latin Vulgate, being the first Pacific Islander to gain the L.Th. Diploma. He was one of the first Pacific Islands deputations to Australia in 1934. He was a representative to General Conference in 1948, 1954 and 1960. On the morning after the 1960 General Conference ended, on 27 May, he died suddenly from a heart attack. He had been the first director of the Young People's Department and also Secretary of Conference for 14 years. By his eloquence and forcefulness he exerted a powerful influence through his preaching in churches and in the open air. His transparent sincerity and consistency of life underlined his utterances. It was recognized that his loss to the Tongan Church was irreparable and, even now, his contemporaries wistfully exclaim, "If only Sau were still with us!"

The supply of Tongan ministers and teachers for Overseas Missions never 797 faltered. When the Mission in Papua (Islands Region) was begun in 1891, John Kuli became renowned both for his preaching and his skill as a navigator; in an enthusiastic meeting at Nuku'alofa in 1910 he offered to return, but he was far too old. After the Mission in the Solomon Islands was established in 1902, James Nau, with a Samoan colleague, Pologa, showed conspicuous devotion when waiting in an exposed dinghy off an island in the Ontong Java atolls for thirteen weeks until the people ceased their opposition and allowed the teachers to land. Another faithful missionary was Paul Havea, eldest son of John Havea, who served for many years in the Solomons, including the years of Japanese occupation in the Second World War. A younger John Taufa (now Bishop in the United Church of Papua, New Guinea and the Solomons) and Daniel Palavi have laboured in Bougainville and Vella Lavella, Solomons, for nearly twenty years.

Jonathan Meleke and Ezekiel Hau'ofa went to Papua in 1937; they rallied their people during the confusion of war when overseas missionaries had been withdrawn by Government orders. Hau'ofa continued for 33 years in much isolation that called for special responsibility. Meleke died in 1944. Another devoted missionary in Papua, David Mone, said of Meleke, "I was jealous of Meleke, jealous of his goodness". David Mone, L.Th., was a strong leader, both in Papua during the war years, and afterwards as a pioneer in the Lai Valley in

527 /98 cont./
574 794 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation.
(262) After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(177) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
● 793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without
appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community. To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

621 554 /106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church
178 services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given
[793] an important position in the village community. They may be followed
[875] in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young
[759] the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical practitioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But there is also many a Tongan who dces not hold an office yet plays an influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers
[888] and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones.
621 Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops
554 in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods
441 in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that
178 is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the
(171) merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will be respected accordingly. (297)

[875] 297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
[346) systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
[778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

[776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
[787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)
565

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

[784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

/248 cont./

771 668. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 136.

797 177 nevertheless, the great majority of all strata of the population believed firmly and unshakably in the power of the gods and obediently subordinated themselves to the supposed expression of their will and especially to the taboos--until the missionaries, through skillful and systematic work, destroyed this religion and Christianized the Tongan people.

797 After unsuccessful missionary attempts of the London Mission Society (1797/99) and of the Wesleyans (1822/23), the latter, in 1826, renewed their work of conversion and, through zealous and purposeful work, succeeded in completing most of their Christinization of the entire Archipelago by the year 1852. They, like their churches, were Anglo-Saxon puritanical missionaries, and preached Christianity with an Old Testament coloring. Despite all kinds of difficulties and, in part, stubborn resistance and distrust on the part of the Tongans, they achieved their goal by winning over influential chiefs and by demonstrating the impotence of the Tongan gods. No resistance was [793] possible from a united, consolidated priesthood, since this did not exist. However, the chiefs who feared the loss of their old powerful supremacy were a strong obstacle, as were all those who, consciously or unconsciously, felt that Christianization would mean the loss of ancient Tongan values. On the other hand, during their contact with Europeans, the Tongans came to know their superiority in many areas of life, /249/ and some natives believed that the whites owed their superior knowledge, their might and wealth to the special power of their gods, and they were therefore willing to listen to the new teaching. In the personality of Chief Taufa'ahau, finally, the Wesleyan missionaries found an invaluable aid in the conversion of the Tongans. In 1842, Catholic missionaries also started their work on Tongatapu; they came too late to be able to

/249 cont./

771 The old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
784 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
178 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
778 meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in contrast
178 to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

[177] These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/253 cont./

346 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete
352 furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/
and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands.
793 In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and
794 conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations
are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of
the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers.
In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests
officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over
their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the
organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the
Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans
generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock,
Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at
(533) 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of
(794) the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In
the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at
18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays
there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans,
794 for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677)

(578) 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation
work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/325 cont./

177 of goods--change of material cultural possessions; European tools--
decline of the ancient handicrafts [ornaments, dwellings, boat
building]).

177 Special circumstances facilitated or made possible the cultural
797 change in Tonga. For example, the heads of government in the
[643] Archipelago, at the beginning of stronger European influences
(missionization), lost their actual power as a result of the historical
development of the island kingdom. Furthermore, the Christianization
● [793] of the people was favored by the absence of a powerful Tongan
[791] priesthood and by a certain laxity at the time in the worship of their
gods.

177 On the other hand, the impact of European influences was, for various reasons, moderated or made impossible.

Thus, the Europeans in this Archipelago did not exert as much pressure as they did on some other primitive peoples. There was no particular decimation of Tongans through sickness, alcohol or terroristic attacks. Only relatively few Europeans came to these islands, and the natives kept a certain independence. The whites have not taken away their land, either in the past or in the present, and there were no violent European repression or extermination operations comparable to those in Tasmania, Australia and North America. Moreover, the whites did not exploit (or deport) Tongans workers, nor did they establish larger enterprises here. Since the Tongans have a kingdom of their own with relatively great freedom of self-determination and, moreover, only a small number of Europeans live in the Archipelago, the danger of friction between browns and whites has been slight up to the present time.

Within the framework of this development some areas of Tongan culture have experienced but weak European influences, and since the natives have not become acquainted with European culture in its